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THE
HISTORY
OF THE LATE
Grand Insurrection;
OR,
STRUGGLE FOR
LIBERTY IN IRELAND.

IMPARTIALLY COLLECTED FROM
STEPHENS, HAY, JONES, &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION, BY EMMETT,
WITH HIS FAMOUS SPEECH MADE TO THE COURT
BEFORE JUDGMENT.

ALSO,
THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CELEBRATED PAMPHLET WHICH
HAS BEEN LATELY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND,
ENTITLED

*AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF
POPULAR DISCONTENTS IN IRELAND,*

BY A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

Carlisle :
FROM THE PRESS OF A. LOUDON,
(WHITEHALL.)

1805.

W. H. & I. H. H.

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PREFACE

THE flourishing Republic of America is, itself, the fruits of a great Revolution; the importance of which is continually developing itself. The present work, shewing the unfortunate issue of a hardy, courageous, but similar effort to throw off the yoke of more than six centuries, must engage the attention of the American Citizen, the politician, and the philosopher; but more especially, the natives of Ireland, or those who are the children of Irishmen.

IRELAND is presumed to be the real object of the threatened invasion by the French. It will be natural to wish to have before us, the exploits of a people, when they lately fought without foreign aid—when, like the Americans, quitting their fields and peaceful occupations, utterly ignorant of war—with no support but their zeal—with scarcely any arms but Pikes, they encountered, with various success, regular troops, in great force, ably commanded, and completely organized, possessing all the means (from cannon, arms, and ammunition) of military annoyance.

WITHOUT pretending to estimate the effect of the new aspect of things since republicanism has disappeared in France, and whether the great body of the Irish nation would *join the invaders, or oppose them.* We must wish to know what kind of figure the United Irishmen made in battle? We must desire to behold the greatness of *their struggle*—to see how they conducted themselves, when, for a short time triumphant, they tasted the sweets of power, and to form some idea of the effect of their aid, whether, in support of the national defence, or their energy, if they take the part of the *foes* of Britain.

THE Editors plan is to give from the most authentic sources, an impartial account of the Insurrection. The extracts from Stephens, furnishes a brief outline of the whole, sketched by a most masterly writer, eminently distinguished for his conspicuous and candid history of the wars which sprung out of the French Revolution. From Mr. Stephens' history, the first part of the present work is extracted. Hay is a writer who possessed the best opportunities of information, and as a scholar and gentleman, is entitled to great confidence. His recital is stamped with internal evidence of his great impartiality and truth.

FROM Jones's Narrative, every thing material is extracted—many of his statements come from actors in the scenes they describe. His relation of some of these battles is, however, in some instances, improbable, unless sup-

ported by other testimony, and ought therefore to be received with a reasonable distrust.

A comparison of Jones' account of the civil war in Wexford with Mr. Hays, will illustrate the necessity of a caution applicable to both. It is sometimes asserted in Jones's Narrative, that great carnage was made of the Insurgents in engagements, when only one or two were killed or wounded on the part of government. When so little regard is paid to probability we are obliged to refuse our assent.

IN the appendix to Hays account, will be found curious and interesting information—from it the American reader will derive a complete view of the state of the kingdom of Ireland, immediately anterior, and at the unhappy period of the Insurrection.

THE recent revolt conducted by Emmett, and the extracts from the pamphlet on Irish affairs, and the detection of Coigley, will no doubt, be all thought worthy of perusal.

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INTRODUCTION,

BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

REVOLUTIONS, and civil wars, have always been esteemed the most interesting parts of history in the eye of mankind.

IN the latter ages of the world, history presents a bloody page, stained with sanguinary wars, but little dignified by important and consequential events. The imperial and regal rulers of the day have been sufficiently prodigal of human victims to indulge caprice—provide for a son or nephew, or satiate ambition.

WE have few examples in modern history of grand achievements, by which the destiny of nations is decided, or birth given to a new empire.

SINCE the subversion of the Greek Empire Switzerland, Portugal, Holland, &c. have risen into view, and still nominally exist. America has shaken off her chains and grows in power. The only considerable nations which have been blotted from the face of Europe, are Venice and Poland.

AMONGST the events calculated to dazzle, if not astonish, is the French revolution. The

attention of the world was attracted at its commencement, and it continued splendid, but terrible in its progress. Its volcanic eruptions in its latter stages spread general horror and dismay.

To the philanthropist its morn of brightness was the harbinger of a glorious day to suffering humanity. How much is it to be deplored, that an incessant change of rulers and factions—wild innovators—bloody proscriptions—a plural executive, divided and hostile—constitutions, the ephemera of the day—prolonged war—all combined to wear out hope, and force a generous people to yield in despair their long wished for liberty to terminate the horrors of anarchy. It is in the obstinacy and unavailing perseverance of Mr. Pitt, we may discover the hand which conducted Bonaparte to an imperial throne. The war of kings and altars against the pride and wishes of a brave and powerful people, has created a gigantic power which threatens the independance of Europe, and the extinction of the *British empire*.

REVOLUTIONARY France helped to light up the fire of rebellion in Ireland; as subservient to her uniform policy, of reducing the power of a rival. In the American war France would have found an hostile people, defending their shores with bravery against an invader.

In the rebellion of 1798, the French republic was to aid the effort, and to engage for the independance of Ireland. To trace shortly the

circumstances which presented the Irish people in league with the French nation, (with whom, as connected with Britain, they had contended for ages) may merit attention.

THE English government, beautiful as De L'home, and others had represented it in theory, had in the lapse of time from the workings of corrupt and luxurious manners, together with original imperfect principles of representation which the mutations of trade and commerce rendered still more deformed, had at this time retained little of its democratic vitality and a hideous aristocratic predominancy appeared to reign over the sovereign and his people. In the last century England was nearly half her time in a state of war. If we except the Spanish war, into which Walpole was driven by popular opinion against his own judgment, this continued hostility arose from inadequate causes—from commerce—jealousies, or national arrogance.

FROM her insular situation and potent fleets, the wars she had carried on were either maritime, or raged on the soil of her enemies. The ambition of her government anxious for distant territory, had however caused an unnatural protrusion of strength which sapped her energy, and entailed misery and the most odious exaction on the nation.

FRANCE, in her apparent regenerated state, on the first dawnings of the sun of liberty, presented a spectacle captivating and alluring to

a people borne down by the weight of a taxation hitherto without example.

PITT, attempted to subdue the popular temper for reformation by foreign war and an iron handed domestic government, unbending, fierce and severe.

CONSPIRACIES and general detestation were the fruits of this system, and of a war, which had no definite object, or which if avowed, was wrapped up in such caballistical and mysterious terms, as to be incomprehensible to the sober enquirer.

THE people of Ireland had been dragged into this ruinous and unmeaning contest, without any share of their will, and against their judgment. Taxation had grown on them, with a rapidity ill adapted to a people impoverished by absentees, by the flow of English manufactures, which, unrestrained by any proper limits, overwhelmed their industry, connected with that dismal train of consequences which follow an unpopular and unsuccessful war.

THE English malecontents under Mr. Pitt's administration were numerous. Possessing wealth, talents, and erudition, they divided the energies of England, and with great force of reason, they displayed to the public reflection, the inglorious and almost mock representation of the people in Parliament. Mr. Pitt had originally made the reform in Parliament, the instrument of his own advancement. Having reached the point of elevation sought after, he

flung the ladder of his greatness from him. Mr. Hardy, Horn Tooke, and others, were prosecuted as traitors, and put in jeopardy of life, for acts but little transgressing the limits of zeal in the very field of reformation in which Mr. Pitt had indulged with the most ample scope.

SUCH being the state of the public mind in England, Irish discontent had auxiliary causes of inflammation, arising from a sense of painful subjection and a clear perception of the insidious policy to retain them in their degraded state by internal division and religious dissensions. This machievalian system, may preserve an unlimited dominion to the British amongst the slaves in the east, but Irishmen had discernment to see and sensibility to writhe under the baneful yoke.

THE Parliament of Ireland, in its then corrupt state, may be considered as having formed a body of civil janizaries, to support the British domination in Ireland, uniformly purchased by the English ministry by wealth drawn from the purses of those whom they were the instrument to oppress, and it was never permitted, except on one great occasion, to act for a moment against the real or imaginary interest of Britain.

WE have thus before us the actual state of the two countries at the time of the insurrection. It will be seen in the course of the revolt how many chances existed to overthrow the English government.

IF the Irish directory, guided more by reasonable policy, than distrust, had made French aid without restriction of force indispensable, and this to the extent of 10,000 men had been attained, the British empire over Ireland had then terminated.

2d. If the insurrection had been general as it originally had been planned, the English force divided, might have been easily overthrown, Dublin taken possession of, and the moment the public revenue could have been seized by any species of organized government, success would have been compleat.

3d. If in the moment of consternation, the Wexford force flushed by victory, instead of idle encampments on Vinegar-Hill and elsewhere, had concentrated its force and marched to Dublin, which being only about 60 miles distant, could have been rapidly accomplished by the robust, hardy and daring men, who were then embodied, the capital would most probably have fallen, and the revolution effected.

AFTER the waste of blood, and the entire overthrow of the Insurgents in June 1798, no rational hope could have been indulged of success by the fresh insurrection in September, on the arrival of the French. The force sent was inadequate to rouse a people to a fresh effort, whose wounds were yet bleeding, who yet had not time to breathe after their fatal struggle. Their exertion under these cala-

mitous circumstances, is much beyond what could have been conjectured.

ALTHOUGH the French finally surrendered in some measure to the van-guard of the English army, we cannot therefore, with any reason conclude, that such a force would have conquered. It is more just, to General Humbert, to consider his last engagement with the English force, as a necessary sacrifice to a point of honor. General Lake himself says, "it was not until the heads of the remaining columns were discovered by the French, that they threw down their arms." The superiority of the French infantry was conspicuous at the battle of Castlebar, when about 900 French defeated between 5 and 6000 English troops.

IF Granard had fallen at that period, if we can credit the statement of Jones, the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, were organized and ready for action. Their numbers, from the same author, were immense, armed, and about to form a junction with the Longford and Cavan Insurgents. The force from the county of Monaghan alone, equipped and prepared for action, he estimates at 23,000 men.

SUCH a combination, even against the great military talents of a Cornwallis, might probably have been successful.

THE disastrous fate of all these enterprizes, has been such however, as to justify the opinion that for the sake of humanity, a regular government ought possibly to be endured until the oppression being extreme, and trampling

down all right, and nearly reaching the limine or border of human patience, it becomes brave men rather to turn their despair on their oppressors and try greatly to die, or manfully to avenge such accumulated wrongs.

IRELAND, since the Union, furnishes us with a new view of her situation, more to be deplored than any of those scenes of bitter servitude through which she has passed.

WHILST she had a parliament, corrupt as it was, it necessarily retained the expenditure of an immense revenue within the kingdom. Parliament, *attentive* to its *own* interests, which would be connected in some degree with the common good, was well adapted to promote a variety of local improvements, which English policy might not deign to interdict. Irish trade had rapidly increased after the extension of the commercial rights obtained by the Donnegall Convention. Dublin began to be adorned with magnificence. Inspired by the national taste and spirit, its improvement kept pace with its growing opulence, and its grandeur began to attract from the splendor of its public and private edifices, the attention of Europe. The darkening cloud of national misfortune however, soon engloomed the capital.

THE Irish Parliament House had been the great theatre where Irish talents figured—where genius was disclosed—where an Irishman beheld some resemblance though deceptive, of the independence of his country. Its doors

are now for ever closed, the curtain has for ever dropped; the eye is never more to be gratified by a real or imaginary representation of the people in parliament, nor the ear delighted with an eloquence, equal, if not surpassing the bright example of Greek or Roman oratory.

THAT noble edifice where the legislature met, would have graced Rome in the days of her renown. That grand porticoe, conceived in the most sublime taste, presents to the degraded Irishman only the melancholy reflection, what Ireland was, what she now is, and to what a pinnacle of greatness she might have risen, had not *her* fortunes been malignant.

MANY of the principal men of the kingdom—many who considered Parliament as the conduit to power; and what was yet of more importance to a wise government that yeomenry, who had, many of them, shed their blood, and exposed their lives in the field to *sustain the government* of king, lords, and commons of Ireland, felt disgusted and indignant, when, by corrupt arts the legislative power was transferred from their native land, to what was called an Imperial Legislature in Great-Britain.

HERE we arrive at the last great stage of Irish depression. From this period she seems to have sunk, under the magnitude of evils too great for endurance, but no longer to be resisted.

THE Catholics remained without emancipation, uncheered with the salutary hope of a future state of amelioration. The debt of Ire-

land had grown to three times the amount of the national debt of America. At the commencement of the American revolution it did not exceed ten millions of dollars. Her annual taxes are now little short of twenty millions of dollars.

DURING this gloomy period, and whilst the sleep of despotism seemed to have benumbed the unfortunate people, the general langour was interrupted by the almost unexampled zeal, fortitude, and momentary wonderful success of one man to overturn the government. Emmet was the bold adventurer, who like a mole, worked in the mine of his own intellectual powers, relying solely on himself, devoted a large fortune and life itself, to the accomplishment of his great purpose. Being the depository of his own plan, no man of rank fell with him on the failure of his enterprize.

THAT the emperor of the French meditates an invasion of Ireland is scarcely to be questioned. Should a large portion of the French armies effect a landing, from the known sagacity and intelligence of his powerful mind, we may rely on a well adjusted scheme of co-operation.

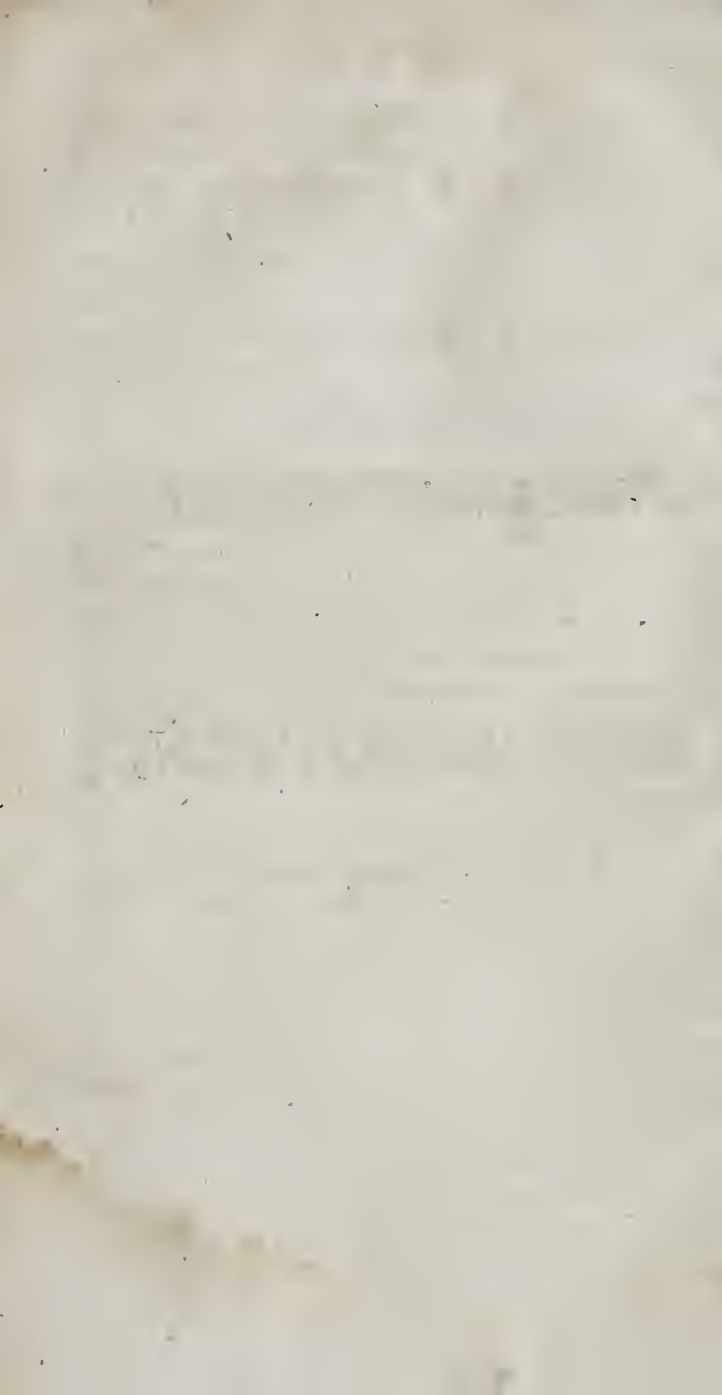
IN such a crisis, what is to save the British empire? what is it will prevent the severance of Ireland after so many ages of ignominious servitude? If after another struggle aided by the veterans of Bonaparte, Ireland should however still remain an appendage of England, (for the present connection ought not to be disgraced

by the name of union) we must anticipate such an event by considerations founded on the weight of an established government, and the general opinion of the world, that Ireland, once in the ambitious grasp of a Bonaparte, would remain yoked to the imperial car. The Irish revolutionists of 1798, would *feel* little cause to expose life and fortune, to exchange the mournful submission of the present hour, for the equally fallen state of Holland and a Switzerland.

THE English government might yet hold Scotland and Ireland by ties more powerful than martial law enforced by the bayonet. The example of America offers the simple, but obvious policy of a real union, by reserving to each kingdom its individual sovereignty and independence, and uniting in a federal and national capacity. The form of government, might on this plan, be monarchical if that system should be preferred to republicanism. Every thing portends at this momentous period, some great and radical change. A debt which is stupendous—a war almost to be considered interminable—Ireland discontented and hostile—the combination of powers waging war against Britain, formidable beyond any former time, shew us England verging towards precipice. If she can be saved, it must be by new measures. She must be *conciliatory*, just, and regardful of the rights of all. It is almost chimerical, it must be acknowledged,

to suppose, that the government of the present day would call a convention for the purpose of forming a constitution. The example of the meeting of the states general in France, and the general dread in all corrupt governments of the people, must repel the hope. Can the discerning mind however, discover any alternative to save the nation? Would not such a form of government, founded on a faithful representation of the people, render the British empire formidable to her enemies, and a blessing to her subjects? If under such a constitution she should be ruled by a just, and beneficent administration, what would the united kingdoms have to fear from external enemies or domestic trouble? Insurrection would hide her head—and mankind would rejoice in a counterpoising greatness, necessary to preserve the balance of power, and the harmony and peace of Europe.

Stephens's Account
OF THE
INSURRECTION,
OF 1798.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Irish Insurrection.

AT a period when France had put an end to the Vendean war, Britain unfortunately beheld an insurrection in the bowels of the empire; and as the former contest had been fomented and prolonged by the policy of the neighbouring powers, so the present appears to have assumed a formidable shape, and even in part to have originated, in consequence of the machinations of a hostile state.

THE history of no nation in Europe, perhaps, exhibits such an uniform series of misery, oppression, and misfortunes, as that of Ireland. Never acknowledging the undisputed authority of a single monarch in the early period of its history, the unhappy island was split into hostile districts; and while the various septs denounced perpetual vengeance against each other, the petty toparchs contended for superiority with all the eagerness of rivalry, and all the injustice generated by the lust of power. Nor were the people subject to the calamities of war alone; they were cruelly oppressed during the short intervals of peace, by their chieftains and tanists, whose horses and dogs they were obliged to feed, in consequence of certain exactions, denominated cosherings and sessings, which, in the strong language of a celebrated lawyer,* “made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave or villain; and in one respect

* *Sir John Davies.*

more miserable than bond-slaves ; for commonly the bond-slave," says he, "is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond-slave."

ALTHOUGH often agitated in former periods, it would now be equally vain and unprofitable to enquire whether Ireland yielded by treaty, or was overcome by the sword? The fact is, that the natives were treated like a conquered people, and denied a participation in the English laws. Stigmatized as helots, even intermarriage with them was deemed a capital crime, and their murder has been more than once adjudged to be no felony. Amidst such cruel and impolitic restraints, it was not to be expected that the people would emerge from barbarity ; on the contrary, they were rendered discontented and ferocious by oppression, and three successive national insurrections, the fruits of a false and perfidious policy, prove better than any testimony, however strong, that their servitude was equally galling and ungrateful. All the bitterness of religious intolerance, in consequence of the Reformation, was superadded to civil disabilities ; and a black catalogue of penal statutes exposed the unhappy Catholic to a variety of fines, mulcts, and disfranchisements, from which the more fortunate and less numerous Protestants were of course exempt.

At length, towards the close of the American war, the spirit and loyalty of an oppressed nation procured a melioration of its condition, and a milder and more liberal system began to be adopted : but this only extended at first to commercial and parliamentary independence ; for even then those of the Romish faith, constituting an immense majority in point of numbers, but far inferior in respect to wealth, remained utterly bereft of their elective franchises, and subject to a variety of disadvantages.

In the course of a few years more*, the exercise of

* In 1792 the Irish Catholics were permitted by act of parliament, 1. To practise as barristers and attorneys ; 2. To intermarry with Protestants ; 3. To edu-

many of the social rights was restored to them; and a prospect of full redress opened on the commencement of a war which instead of relieving, entailed infinite misery upon Ireland. Yet something essential was achieved* in favour of a bulk of the nation, and the glimpse of complete emancipation held out by a popular nobleman†, in consequence of which supplies were voted with equal promptitude and liberality.

THE sudden recal of the new viceroy, and the denial of the promised boon, unhappily became the signal for a civil war; and those who had hitherto confined themselves to constitutional remedies alone, now determined to recur to the sword. Many of the societies formed for the purpose of obtaining a redress of grievances, and a parliamentary reform, were perverted to the purposes of insurrection; while a new one, under the title of "United Irishmen," received all who were disaffected, after pledging their fidelity by the solemnity of an oath. A system of representation, founded on the customs of our Saxon ancestors, and adopted by the venerable Alfred, was prepared, formed, and completed, by the labours of an aspiring individual‡, with a mystery equal, and an effect still more general, than the secret tribunals which at one period kept a large portion of Germany in awe. By an ascending scale of representation, from decennaries and hundreds, to baronies, pro-

cate youth, in the capacity of school-masters, without obtaining a license from an ordinary of the church of England; and 4. To send their children abroad for instruction.

* In consequence of a recommendation from the throne, in January, 1793, many other restrictive laws were repealed; but Catholics were still prohibited from sitting in parliament, or enjoying any of the great offices of state.

† Earl Fitzwilliam, then lord-licutenant.

‡ Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and a barrister, practising in the courts of law.

vinces, and at length to the whole kingdom, such an interchange of opinions took place, and such a force was prepared, as had never before been witnessed in modern times, in the face of an existing government.

At the head of the whole presided a directory of five*, possessing unbounded influence over all, but known only to a few : the members consisted partly of Catholics, and partly of Protestants; some of them had been in parliament, and were either sprung from, or connected with, the first families of the kingdom, and they were all noted for their abilities. These, dazzled with the success of America and France, and warmed with the theories of the day, conceived the romantic idea of shaking off all dependence upon England, converting the monarchy into a republic, and effecting a complete toleration in respect to religion ; but neither the state of the country nor of the people was calculated for such a change. It was determined, however, to attempt it ; and the executive, which had its ambassador at Paris, and whose diplomatic agents were supposed to have some influence on the late negotiations at Lisle, was at length resolved to try its strength with the established government, aided by all the wealth and all the power of Great-Britain. So conscious were the members indeed of their own power, and so much did they dread the influence of foreign domination, that they expressly stipulated with their ally on the continent, for a certain limited assistance only†.

* *Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster ; Mr. Arthur O'Connor, nephew of lord Longueville, descended from Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught ; Mr. Oliver Bond, a reputable manufacturer of Dublin ; Mr. Emmet, a barrister of considerable eloquence ; and Dr. M'Neven, a physician, and a man of great talents, who acted for some time as the secretary-general to the executive.*

† *Report of the secret committee of the house of commons.*

BUT, fortunately for England, their schemes were completely blasted, by the treachery of a subordinate agent, the nominal treasurer of a county and a colonel of the insurgents. In consequence of his information fourteen delegates and three members of the directory were arrested ; a fourth soon after died of the wounds which he received in his own defence, and the whole plot was at length completely developed. New directors were indeed nominated, but a new discovery not only revealed their names and intentions, but consigned two of them to death*.

IN the mean time the government had recourse to measures which subjected some of its members to censure ; and the army itself appears to have acted, according to the manly confession of the commander in chief, with an indefensible degree of severity. By a law lately passed, the viceroy was enabled to proclaim certain districts out of the king's peace ; but lord Camden deemed it proper on his own authority, not only to put forage and provisions in requisition, but also to supersede the ordinary tribunals of justice, and issue orders for the trial of civil offences by means of courts martial.

THE remaining leaders, who had determined on a general insurrection, particularly in the province of Leinster, and not only fixed on a day for that purpose, but meditated an attack on the camp of Loughlinstown, the park of artillery at Chapel-izod, and even the castle of Dublin, at the same time, were thus anticipated, in their daring attempt, while the capital was subjected to military jurisdiction, and the most efficacious measures adopted for its preservation.

† Two brothers of the name of Sheares.

* General sir Ralph Abercromby actually declared in public orders, " that the very disgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in Ireland, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

BUT although many of the chiefs had been secured, and those not as yet arrested were overwhelmed with dismay, a partial revolt actually took place, on the day subsequent to that fixed upon for a general insurrection, of which the stoppage of the mail coaches was to be the signal. An assault was made by a half-armed rabble on the town and gaol of Naas ; but as their scheme had been discovered, they were instantly repulsed by a body of the military*, about one hundred and forty killed on the spot, and three of the leaders executed. A more numerous party was defeated by general Dundas, near Kilcullen ; and on the preceding day, a small detachment, consisting of between four and five hundred, which had ventured to advance as far as Rathfarnham, was dispersed by only thirty-five dragoons under lord Raden, many being put to death in their flight, but† two of their chiefs were reserved for public execution.

THESE feeble and unconnected attempts were not countenanced by a general rising ; for Ulster, in which province alone one hundred and fifty thousand United Irishmen are said to have been enrolled and mustered, in consequence of the unpromising state of affairs wisely declined the contest ; and the progress of the rebellion, unsanctioned even by the formality of a manifesto, had hitherto resembled the capricious freaks of a discontented mob, rather than the united efforts of a large portion of the nation.

BUT the agitators had succeeded in implanting certain principles into the minds of the common people ; and these appear to have struck their roots into a congenial soil ; for although one attempt on Carlow and another on Kildare failed, while a still more formidable commotion at Tallagh-hill was suppressed, yet the inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, being taught to expect immediate assist-

* *The Armagh militia, 4th dragoon guards, and Ancient British Fencibles.*

† *Ledwick and Keough.*

ance from France*, ran to arms, and experienced a transitory but delusive success.

FATHER JOHN MURPHY, who had received the degree of doctor of divinity in Spain, and at this period officiated as priest in the barony of Gorey and parish of Kilcormic, appears to have been the first to recur to arms in this quarter. He collected his forces by lighting a fire on a hill, called Corrigrua, which was answered by a similar signal on an eminence contiguous to his own house at Boolavogue. After disarming the Protestants and burning their houses, a savage mode of warfare but too often perpetrated by both sides on their enemies; they repaired to the village of Oulart, near Kilmeckridge; and as their numbers had now increased to about fourteen thousand, armed chiefly with pikes, they began to acquire confidence.

IN the mean time, part of the troops in Wexford, on hearing of the atrocities committed in their neighbourhood, determined to march against and dissipate the insurgents. Accordingly, a detachment of the North Cork, consisting of one hundred and nine picked men, under lieutenant-colonel Foote, with some of colonel Lehunte's yeoman cavalry, marched against the rebels then posted on the side of Oulart-hill. The attack at first proved successful, and the apparent trepidation of the enemy encouraged the assailants to climb the eminence in pursuit of the fugitives; but on their approach they not only found the hedges

*. So general was the disaffection in the latter county, which is considered among the most industrious in Ireland, that all the inhabitants rose in the course of a single night. Mr. Ogle, one of the members for Dublin, and an active supporter of what is termed the Protestant ascendancy, was so well acquainted with their intentions, that, on hearing a sudden noise, while in bed, he immediately predicted that a general revolt had taken place, which being confirmed soon after, he and his family were obliged to seek protection in Duncannon fort.

lined with musketry, but their flanks turned: so complete indeed was the defeat, that the whole party was cut to pieces, the commanding officer, who was wounded by a pike in the breast and arms, a serjeant, and three privates, excepted.

ON the succeeding day, Dr. Murphy issued circular notices written in red ink*, commanding all persons capable of bearing arms to join him immediately, for the purpose of attacking Enniscorthy; and such was the reputation he had acquired by his late victory, that great numbers flocked to his standard: Having said mass on Ballyorle-hill, and set fire to some houses in the neighbourhood, their leader immediately marshalled about six thousand of his followers, and they were soon after seen on the Newtown-barry road, formed into an immense column, which extended a mile in length; another body, posted on an adjoining eminence, advanced at the same time on the opposite side, and endeavoured to throw the troops into disorder by means of a stratagem†. They were gallantly and successfully opposed for a considerable time, by about three hundred and forty men who occupied the principal outlets; but as a number of disaffected persons was supposed to be in the place, and this small force was incompetent to a prolonged defence, it was determined to evacuate it. No sooner had this been effected, than it was taken possession of by the enemy, who formed a camp on Vinegar-hill early next morning, threw up entrenchments, erected batteries, and regulated all military affairs by means of a committee of twelve, four of which were priests‡.

* See "*Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland*," by sir Richard Musgrave, bart. p. 343.

† They are said to have collected and driven all the cattle in the neighbourhood before them.

‡ *Fathers Murphy, Roche, Kearns, and Clinche. It appears that there were generally twenty priests in the camp.*

THE peasantry now flocked thither in such numbers, that the main body soon consisted of ten thousand men. Sentinels, vedettes, quiet guards, were posted around, and all the appearance of regular troops affected; but it was easy to perceive, that the majority were utterly unacquainted with the use of arms, while the motly appearance of the tents, consisting chiefly of quilts, blankets, and carpets, gave grotesque and ridiculous appearance to the whole. Nor did they fail to imitate the army in other points of view; for having converted the ruins of a windmill into a gaol, they collected prisoners, and having tried them by the summary jurisdiction of a court-martial, several of the unhappy victims were occasionally shot or piked in the front of the rebel line. Several protestant women also, who fell into the hands of their scouts and foraging parties, were not only treated with barbarity, but subjected to violation. To the credit, however, of one of the leaders, called General Sutton, he made use of his authority to restrain such atrocious conduct*.

To inure their followers to military exploits, irruptions were made in various directions. One body of insurgents, under the direction of father Kearns, a priest, seized on the town of Borris, and burnt all the houses belonging to the yeomen; but the assailants were repulsed in an attack on the mansion-house, notwithstanding they had provided themselves with a

* PROCLAMATION. "Whereas information has been received, that many outrages are committing throughout the country, on the wives and daughters of several people: this is therefore to desire and command all officers to use every exertion to apprehend and bring into Vinegar-hill camp each and every person who shall be found guilty of such offences, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

"Given under my hand at Vinegar-hill camp, ... this 17th day of June, 1798, the first year of liberty.

"PATRICK SUTTON, Commander in Chief."

howitzer. About this time also they formed a camp on the hill of Forth, commonly called the Three-Rock Mountain, and on this the detachment marched in procession from Enniscorthy, headed by father John Murphy, with a large crucifix in his arms. In the course of a few days, they were fortunate enough to surprise part of the Meath regiment and a detachment of the royal artillery with two howitzers; while major-general Fawcett, who had marched with eighty of the thirteenth regiment and a small number of militia for the purpose of supporting those troops, on hearing of their defeat were reluctantly obliged to return to Duncannon fort.

ON the same day, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, on being informed of these events, advanced against the enemy with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and about one hundred and fifty yeoman cavalry; but he soon found himself and party annoyed by means of a heavy fire from behind rocks, hedges, and houses. The howitzers also, which had been taken in the morning, were brought into action, and some of the matrosses, who had been saved expressly for that purpose, forced, by the terror of the pike, to point them at their fellow-soldiers. They at the same time drove a number of horses along the road, for the purpose of embarrassing the troops; and this stratagem, which failed on another occasion, proved successful here; for the cavalry, being pent up in a defile and unable to act, wheeled round from the galling fire, and retired*. On perceiving this, the insurgents rushed down from the mountain on purpose to cut off the retreat of the infantry, which they would have effected, had it not been for the resolute conduct of the Donegal regiment, which repulsed them by means of a few well directed volleys of musketry, and then fell back on Wexford.

THAT town, seated at the mouth of the Slaney, at

* "Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland," by Sir R. Musgrave, bart. p. 385.

to great distance from the camp at Vinegar-hill, and only three miles from their position on the Forth Mountain, became the next object against which the insurgents determined to direct their operations. The successful result of the late skirmishes, the acquisition of two pieces of artillery, together with the possession of a large quantity of arms and ammunition, tended to increase their audacity and their numbers : while the spirit of fanaticism was kept alive among the ignorant multitude by means of masses and ghostly exhortations, the faith of some of them is reported to have been raised to such a ridiculous excess, as actually to believe that the balls of the heretics could make no impression upon a true believer.

WHILE they were meditating an assault on Wexford, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell determined to evacuate the place, and a deputation from such of the inhabitants as chose to remain arrived at the Three-Rock Mountain, where the rebels had increased to ten thousand, on purpose to announce that a white flag, in token of submission, had been hoisted on the town-house.

A COLUMN was accordingly put in motion under general Roche, lately a serjeant in the yeoman cavalry ; and Mr. Keugh, who had risen from the humble station of a private to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the sixty-fifth regiment, during the American war, was nominated governor by acclamation. On entering the place, the insurgents immediately liberated all the prisoners confined in the gaol, and soon after nominated one of them, Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, a protestant gentleman of considerable fortune, commander in chief* of the United army of the county of Wexford.

* " *At a meeting of the commanders of the United army, held at Carrickbyrne-camp, on the 1st of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed that the Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander in chief of the United army of the county of Wexford from and after the first day of June, 1798.*

FLUSHED with a series of uninterrupted success, they now marshalled their forces and determined on achieving still greater enterprises. For this purpose they formed their army into three divisions: one under the command of a protestant chief*, to whom was assigned the reverend father Philip Roche, of Poulprarsy, in the parish of Killan, as a coadjutor, received orders to encamp on Carrickbyrne-hill, for the purpose of attacking the town of New-Ross; a second under captains Doyle and Redmond, was to proceed from Vinegar-hill, and seize on Newtown-barry, situate in a defile surrounded by high and steep mountains, which would not only give them the command of the Slaney, but open a communication with their associates in the counties of Carlow and Kildare; the third, led by a person denominated general Perry, accompanied by father Michael Murphy, of Ballycanoe, and father John Murphy, of Boolavogue, was destined to attack Gorey: and such was their confidence, that, after seizing on those places, it was determined to advance with this victorious column against the capital, where their partisans were numerous, intelligent, and indefatigable.

BUT, after the capture of Wexford, they were fated to experience a number of signal defeats; and as their operations were equally deficient in method and concert, and they had hitherto proved successful from numbers and accident alone, so they were of course dissipated on the first appearance of an effective opposition.

AFTER obtaining possession of Newtown-barry, the assailants were driven out with great slaughter, by a

"Signed, by order of the commanding officers of the camp.

NICHOLAS GRAY, *Secretary.*"

"It was likewise agreed that Edward Roche should, from and after the first day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected, a general officer of the United army of the county of Wexford.

"Signed, by the above authority.

N. GRAY."

* Mr. Harvey,

small body of yeomen. They were also foiled, about the same time, in an attack upon Gorey ; but a large body, posted on Ballymore-hill, succeeded in defeating colonel Walpole, who, despising such dastardly adversaries, advanced to the attack without the usual military precautions, and fell into an ambuscade at Tubberneering. After having lost their commander, who, by being dressed in full uniform, and mounted on a tall grey horse, became a conspicuous object for the enemy's marksmen, the troops, who were raw and unexperienced, at length retreated in confusion. Two six pounders and a howitzer, seized upon this occasion, being turned against them, the rout would have been complete, but for the good conduct of colonel Cope, of the Antrim militia. This officer rallied and formed his remaining forces on the road so as to impede the progress of the rebels, who now charged in their turn, and at length entered Gorey in pursuit of the fugitives. Arklow also was evacuated ; and it was with some difficulty that general Loftus, who had advanced to support colonel Walpole, found means to escape with his feeble detachment across Slievebuoy mountain.

IN the mean time an immense number of insurgents, posted on Carrickbyrne-hill, within six miles of Ross, determined on the capture of that place, which, by its commanding situation, was calculated to increase their power and influence. They accordingly approached it, and as an opportunity had not yet occurred to divide them into companies and regiments, they were formed under the more familiar denominations of parishes and baronies. During their march, they halted for some time at a chapel, where mass was said at the head of each column by their priests, who also sprinkled an abundance of holy water. They then repaired to Corbet-hill, an eminence about a mile and a half from Ross, and formed on its summit with some appearance of regularity.

BUT the capture of this town was an object of considerable difficulty, as the garrison consisted of twelve

hundred effective men, besides one hundred and fifty yeomen, commanded by major-general Johnson. The troops, who had been for some time prepared for the attack, were also judiciously stationed; the infantry and artillery having been posted in a line on the east and south sides of the town, with the cavalry on the quay, and the volunteers at the bridge.

ABOUT five o'clock in the morning, thirty thousand insurgents advanced against the town in an irregular manner, uttering hideous yells; about one-fourth was armed with muskets, and the remainder with pikes: they were provided with four small field-pieces and a few swivels, while their fanaticism was aroused and their valour excited by priests, clad in vestments, and carrying crucifixes, who moved slowly through the ranks, and administered divine consolation.

ONE of the crowd, waving a white handkerchief in his hand, preceded the rest; on being shot by the centinels, it was discovered that he had brought a letter from Mr. Harvey, the newly-elected general, dated at the camp of Corbet-hill, summoning the commanding officer to deliver up the place to the forces assembled against it. "Flushed with victories," says he, "the Wexford forces, innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with opposition: to prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides."

HAVING marched up to the place with great resolution, they drove in the advanced guard, took possession of the alarm posts, and made use of one of the pieces of artillery which they had taken at the Three Rocks, by means of a matross, who was not only tied to it to prevent him from running away, but excited to the performance of his duty by one of the revolvers, who on perceiving the elevation to be too great, is reported to have drawn a pistol from his belt and shot him on the spot. The first onset

was furious, but they were repulsed at the Three-Bullet-gate, and charged by a detachment of the fifth dragoons; they however rallied soon after, and seized on a piece of artillery, which they immediately turned against the troops. After this they entered the town, and notwithstanding cannon were planted at the cross lanes, so as to sweep the streets as they advanced*, yet such was the weight and impetuosity of the column formed by the assailants, that the main body of the garrison, overpowered by numbers, and intimidated also perhaps by the late success of the rebels at Enniscorthy, the Three Rocks, Wexford, and Tubberneering, fled over the bridge with great precipitation to the Kilkenny side of the river.

FORTUNATELY, however, the place was soon after recaptured by the gallantry of the commanding officer, who had served during the war on the Transatlantic continent. Indignant at beholding the success of the revolters and the sudden panic of his own troops, general Johnson rode up to the fugitives and demanded if they meant to forsake their leader and their countryman? Being received with three cheers, he placed himself at their head, advanced toward the Three-Bullet-gate, where a post was still maintained by the English, and recurring to one of the least culpable stratagems of war, he confidently assured the soldiers stationed there that he had brought a reinforcement from Waterford. Having thus reanimated them by the joyful intelligence, he advanced against and dissipated a column of the enemy; and that nothing might be wanting to secure the fortune of the day, he contrived to turn their rear, at the same time man-

* *It has been confidently asserted that a barber among the insurgents, either unacquainted with the nature of artillery, or rendered insensible to fear by intoxication, crammed his hat and wig into a cannon, and cried out to his companions, "Come on boys, her mouth is stophed." The gunner, by the application of his match, soon convinced him of his error.*

ning the trenches on the outside so as to prevent the arrival of a reinforcement*.

THE assailants, who had not improved their first advantage, but consumed that time in drunkenness and devastation which they ought to have employed in securing their victory, were now dispersed and overcome; and as raw troops can never be rallied, they retreated with the utmost speed, first to Corbet and then to Carrickbyrne hills, leaving two thousand six hundred dead behind them. Nor was this signal success obtained by their adversaries without bloodshed, for lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, fell in the first onset, one ensign, four serjeants, and eighty-four men, were killed, and one captain and fifty-seven men wounded.

ON the very day that this engagement took place, some of the insurgents hearing of the success of the king's troops, perpetrated a most shocking massacre on several prisoners whom they had confined at Scullabogue; an endeavour has been made to throw the whole of the odium of this transaction on one of the priests, but certain it is, that a layman of the name of Murphy, who commanded there, refused to sanction the atrocity, and turned away with horror from the disgusting scene, which he was unable to prevent; he however had still influence sufficient to rescue a woman from death by observing, "that such a horrid deed would kindle a blush on the cheeks of the Virgin Mary;" nor ought it to be omitted here, that the bodies of the unhappy sufferers were buried by a subscription on the part of the principal leaders.

THE ill success of the attack on Ross put a period to the short-lived power of the general in chief, who was immediately deposed from his military command, and appointed to a civil employment, having been nominated president of the council of Wexford: but this gentleman, whose feelings and education

* *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland, by Sir R. Musgrave, p. 4, 11.*

wholly disqualified him from taking any share in the excesses that had recently taken place, was by this time ashamed of the misconduct of a peasantry fanaticised to madness, and familiar with every species of crime. The lay commanders, after this period, no longer appear to have enjoyed the confidence of the multitude, for we now find father Roche presiding in the camp on Lacken-hill, and calling on the inhabitants of the adjacent parishes to repair to his standard, by requisitions addressed to the Catholic clergy. Father Michael Murphy at the same time acted in the capacity of general at Gorey; and as his troops had hitherto been successful, and were still flushed with their recent victory at Tuberneering, he meditated a great and important attempt. Undismayed by the late signal defeat at Ross, he determined on marching against Arklow, although at this time defended by a strong garrison; after the capture of which he is said to have intended to advance against the capital itself, wisely judging that the possession of Dublin would in some measure decide the fate of the whole kingdom. Nor ought it to be forgotten that the metropolis was at this period in a state of consternation, for the vice-queen* and many ladies of distinction had fled to England, and the disaffected there were both resolute and numerous.

ALTHOUGH general Needham now occupied Arklow with about one thousand five hundred troops, consisting of dragoons, militia, fencibles, and yeomanry, the insurgents advanced boldly against it.— They, however, did not commence their march until the morning was pretty far advanced; and it was four o'clock in the afternoon before they were perceived, formed in two immense columns, so as to attack the town in the upper and lower extremities at the same time. In addition to their numbers, which have been estimated at about twenty thousand, they were supported by two six-pounders, formerly

* *Lady Camden.*

taken from the regulars, neither injudiciously posted nor ill served, and preceded by an advanced guard, composed of horse and foot. All their motions were evidently intended to out-flank and overpower the garrison, who were formed behind a barricado, strengthened with artillery.

THE attack which continued for upwards of two hours, was as usual fierce ; but the steady countenance and incessant fire of the troops, together with the destruction occasioned by the cannon, rendered all their efforts abortive, and they were never able to penetrate into the place. One body was soon defeated and charged by the cavalry under colonel sir W. W. Wynne, who appears to have given no quarter ; but the other, which had advanced on the side of the charter-school, and was led by father Michael Murphy, the priest of Ballycanew, made a number of successive but abortive attacks on a barricade, whence they were driven by incessant volleys of musquetry and grape. At length this ecclesiastic, after haranguing his followers, advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned, but he was soon after killed by a cannon-shot ; on this his troops instantly dispersed, and retreated about eight o'clock at night towards Coolgreney in a disorderly manner. They found means however to occupy a formidable station at Limeric-hill, which they evacuated on the approach of the generals Dundas and Loftus.

BUT notwithstanding these reiterated miscarriages, a numerous body to the amount of twenty thousand, posted on the heights on the banks of the Slaney, called Vinegar-hill, still assumed the appearance of an army, and continued to sustain a drooping cause ; luckily this important station was not fortified by heavy artillery, nor strengthened by redoubts on the flanks, nor defended by skill. Against these general Lake, after collecting various detachments, determined to march, and he was fortunate enough to be joined by the Loyal Cheshire, who landed from England two days previously to the battle. The mode of

attack adopted upon this occasion, was well calculated to terrify new levies, always diffident of themselves, and afraid of being surrounded. The troops being divided into four distinct columns, advanced against the insurgents under the generals Dundas, Eustace, Duff, and Loftus. A fifth, under general Johnson, having carried the town of Enniscorthy, situated at the base of the hill, the heights were scaled in different directions, so as to menace the front and flanks at the same time. But, notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the revolted were enabled from the natural strength of their position to defend the lines during an hour and a half, and it was not until they were outflanked and nearly surrounded, that they at length gave way, leaving behind them thirteen light field-pieces : as civil are always more bloody than foreign wars, the slaughter was immense, for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion, as those who escaped the musquet when overtaken perished by the merciless bayonet, while so insignificant was the loss on the part of the king's troops, that not above one hundred were either killed or wounded.

THE only person of any note who fell on the other side upon this occasion was father Clinch, a priest of Enniscorthy, who was singled out on account of his large white horse, huge scymetar, and broad cross-belts ; and the action itself was less bloody than could have been well supposed, as the troops under general Needham were unable to reach the position assigned them, and general Lake could not be prevailed upon to defer the combat until the succeeding day. In consequence of these events an immense column retreated by the east side of the Slaney ; part entered Wexford, where many horrid murders were committed on the bridge ; while another and more numerous detachment, headed by two priests of the name of Murphy and a third called Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and having held a council of war there, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny.

HOWEVER, the battle, or rather skirmish, of Vinegar-hill, not only occasioned the dispersion of those who survived the pursuit, but proved fatal to their cause.

AN ineffectual attempt was immediately made by the pretended governor of Wexford to obtain a capitulation; yet, as the offer of pardon to the garrison was accompanied with a stipulation that the chiefs should be delivered up, the insurgents, preferring the chance of death to the baseness of treachery, evacuated the town, which was immediately occupied by major-general Moore, to the no small joy of the remaining inhabitants.

IN the mean time, the body of rebels which had retreated from Vinegar-hill and penetrated into the county of Kilkenny by the Scullagh Gap, burned the village of Kil Edmond, and proceeded to Goresbridge, under the command of father John Murphy, of Ballavouge. Having advanced in column, they were opposed by lieutenant Dixon, who was posted there with a party chiefly composed of dragoons; but he was obliged to retreat, as they had brought a swivel and several pieces of cannon to bear on the post, which he in vain endeavoured to maintain against such a multitude of assailants. But their success was of short duration, for they were pursued by general Dunn and sir Charles Asgill, and having made a stand at Kilcomney-hill, experienced a complete defeat. Murphy, the commander in chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken soon after, and being conducted to the head-quarters of general sir James Duff, at Tullow, was hanged the same day. After this the body of that sanguinary priest was burnt, and his head, with indiscreet zeal, placed on the market-house—a savage and horrid custom, tending little to intimidate, but admirably calculated to render a disaffected people more savage and ferocious, by making them familiar with barbarity, and accustoming them to the violation of the rights of sepulture.

A BODY of insurgents, who assembled soon after at Whiteheaps, was dispersed by general Needham, assisted by general Duff and the marquis of Huntly, the last of whom acquired great credit during his residence in Ireland, by uniting humanity with courage, and compassionating the failings of a deluded multitude at the same time that he rendered their fury ineffectual.

THE spirit of rebellion in the south; which assumed all the appearance of a war of religion, was now completely subdued; and in the north it never exhibited a very formidable shape, for the disaffected Protestants in that quarter, shocked at the enormities perpetrated, the intolerance displayed, and the pretended miracles wrought by two Popish priests*, determined to resist the seduction. They indeed found means to keep possession of Antrim for a few days; however, on being attacked with cannon and musquetry, they were driven out of that place, but not until lord O'Niel, who commanded a regiment of Irish militia, had fallen. They were also repulsed in an ill-concerted attack on Carricfergus; at Ballymahinch, where they had determined to make a stand under Munroe, although they could not muster more than six thousand men, they received, a total overthrow, and the insurrection was completely quelled: notwithstanding, a few of the stragglers assembled in some force, first at Ardee and then at Garretstown.

IN the mean time courts martial were held on all the leaders. Mr. B. Harvey, whose influence had been superseded after the battle of Ross, by that of Father Murphy, the priest, and who had seized the first opportunity of abandoning men inflamed into habitual cruelty by those who ought to have preached the language of Christian charity, was surprised in a cave on one of the rocks that form the harbour of Wexford, and hanged on the bridge of that town.

* *Roche and Murphy.*

Although this sentence was enforced by a court of a very equivocal kind, the jurisdiction of which is not recognised by the law, such was the relentless spirit of the times, that his heirs were bereaved of his large property ; and as this could not be done in the usual course of justice, a *post-facto* act was obtained for that purpose.

It is greatly to be lamented that a trial by jury was denied to such as were supposed to have dipped their hands in blood or forfeited their lives by rebellion ; as it would surely have been at once more dignified and more legitimate, to have convicted the offenders according to the usual mode, and not have imitated the example of the French during the Ven-dean war, by the conversion of military tribunals into courts that were to decide on the lives of men, some of whom had not even been accused of appearing in arms. But posterity will learn with horror, that torture was in some instances resorted to by individuals on purpose to extort confessions of guilt ; and what is still more shocking, that this barbarous and inhuman custom was not only permitted, but is said to have been palliated by men in high authority.

LUCKILY for the happiness of Ireland and the honour of Great Britain, a more generous policy soon after prevailed, for lord Cornwallis, although bred to arms from his youth, yet detesting schemes of vengeance and proscription, after making some public examples, put an end to the scene of blood. In the course of a few days subsequently to his arrival, he informed the House of Commons by a message, of " his Majesty's orders to acquaint them, that he had signified his gracious intention of granting a general pardon for all offences committed previously to a certain time, upon such conditions and with such exceptions as might be compatible with the public safety ;" and it was added " that these offers of mercy were not to preclude measures of vigor against the obstinate."

His lordship accordingly, while he held out the immediate prospect of pardon and forgiveness to the

ignorant rabble, was determined to bring several of the principal chiefs to trial ; but he did not recur to the invidious mode of impanelling military men, unacquainted with the rules of evidence and the forms of justice, who, after bravely overcoming the enemy with their swords, were afterwards to supersede the laws by sitting in judgment upon them and their followers : on the contrary, he issued orders for a special commission, and the culprits were raigned, convicted, and condemned, by competent tribunals, with a solemnity suitable to the occasion.

A FEW suffered ; and as the insurrection was now completely crushed, and public justice fully vindicated, both mercy and policy called aloud for pardon and oblivion.

BUT although the government had quelled the insurrection, it was still unacquainted with the ultimate views of the conspirators, the full extent of their plan, the exact form of their organisation, and, above all, with the nature of their connection with France : it was deemed advisable, therefore, to obtain ample information on these subjects. Accordingly, Mr. Bond, a member of the directory, was offered his life, lately forfeited by a verdict of his peers, on this express condition ; as he was deterred for some time, by a consideration for the safety of his colleagues*, the same promise was extended to all under confinement ; and these having acquitted themselves to the entire satisfaction of the administration, they were to be permitted to exile themselves to any country not then at war with Great Britain. After this, an act of general amnesty was passed, with the exception of a few men of some note, who had taken refuge on the continent.

* *Messrs. O'Connors, Neilson, and M'Nevin. Mr. Bond died previously to his removal ; and the former gentlemen, instead of being sent to a neutral country, were afterwards confined with some others at Fort George, in Scotland, whence they were liberated soon after the peace.*

By the able conduct and dignified moderation of the new lord-lieutenant, the deluded peasantry returned to their cottages, and many of the chiefs who had escaped detection became peaceable, if not loyal subjects. Had a system of obdurate severity been pursued, Ireland would perhaps have resembled Poytou, and the scenes about to be depicted might have terminated fatally for the interests of the empire.

THE French directory, who had hitherto contemplated the progress of the civil war in seeming tranquillity, now seemed eager to revive it, by transmitting a force, which would have been formidable previously to the action at Vinegar-hill, but now proved insignificant and contemptible. Accordingly, at a period when the arts of peace began once more to be cultivated, a body of men, amounting to about nine hundred, was landed from three frigates, at Killala Bay, in the county of Mayo, within one hundred and twenty miles of Dublin; and general Humbert, an officer who had distinguished himself under Hoche, during the Vendean war, immediately took up his head-quarters at the bishop's palace. But although the alluring symbol of a green flag was erected, accompanied by the emblem of a harp, and encircled with the motto of "Erin Go Bragh*," yet but a few of the peasantry could be prevailed upon to join him; of these none professed the protestant religion, and no individuals of note, of any persuasion†, two or three only excepted, countenanced the invaders.

AFTER leaving a small garrison under colonel Charost behind him, to keep up the communication and receive supplies, general Humbert clothed and

* *Ireland for ever.*

† *One gentleman, heir to a considerable fortune, born in Spain, and educated at Liege, is said to have been prevailed upon to act as president of the council of Connaught.*

armed all those who had repaired to his standard, and immediately marched towards Castlebar. In the mean time, being still in hopes of a more powerful support, he prepared a proclamation, in which he entrusted the government of the province to a council consisting of twelve members, and gave orders for the raising of twelve regiments. He also enjoined "every individual from sixteen to forty, in the name of the Irish republic, to repair immediately to the French camp," on purpose "to march in a mass against the common enemy of the government of Ireland, the English, whose destruction alone," it was added "can secure the happiness and independence of ancient Hibernia."*

IN the mean time major-general Hutchinson anticipated the French, having by a sudden evolution obtained possession of the chief town in the county of Connaught; but on the other hand, the latter completely deceived their adversaries, on their arrival at Ballina, by advancing through Barnahgecby instead of Foxford, and thus experiencing no obstacle whatsoever in the route to Castlebar.

ALTHOUGH he relied chiefly for success on his own troops, yet being desirous to magnify his little army by the appearance of numbers, Humbert had dressed up a number of the natives in uniforms, and afterwards contrived to post his new levies on the flanks in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy.

THE field of battle, to which he was now in full march, consisted of a hill, at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were

* *This paper, which happened to be discovered among the archives of the provisional government, was never published, as it soon became evident that the mild policy of lord Cornwallis was far better calculated to subvert the spirit of resistance than a system of torture and conflagration.*

drawn up in two lines*, which crowned the summits ; a small reserve was stationed in the rear, two circle and some battalion guns were posted in front, and commanded a rising ground, over which the invaders must necessarily pass : the exact effective strength has never been ascertained, but it appears to have exceeded fifteen hundred men, and it must be allowed that the troops were not injudiciously posted.

ABOUT eight o'clock in the morning, the French with their allies were seen advancing in column, and some of the peasantry, who accompanied them, made an ineffectual attempt to divert the fire of the artillery, which was well served, by driving some cattle before them. On this Humbert, after reconnoitring, halted under cover of a rising ground, and pushed forward a body of his best marksmen, who advanced rapidly, and occupied some hedges in front, whence they extended themselves, with a view of annoying and out-flanking the adversary.

THE fire of the opposite lines, instead of being reserved, was expended before it could be serviceable, a mistake of which the enemy immediately took advan-

* According to Sir R. Musgrave's *Memoirs*, p. 593, the following disposition took place : the first line consisted of the Kilkenny militia, the skeleton of the sixth regiment of foot, and a subaltern's detachment of the Prince of Wales's fencibles. The Fraser fencibles, with a small corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a second line ; the four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rear, and a little in the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry, consisting of the first fencibles, and a part of the sixth dragoon guards, were stationed in the rear of the first line, some piquets excepted, and some mounted yeoman, who were posted in different quarters. In addition to the artillery mentioned above, which was under the direction of captain Shortall, two more curricule guns were posted in the centre of the town, under lieutenant Blundell of the artillery.

tage ; for the main body having rushed forward, and the sharp shooters evincing a design to penetrate into the rear, the detachment posted for the purpose of supporting the guns retired, and they were immediately abandoned. The earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard, endeavoured to rally their men, and they so far succeeded as to impede for some time the progress of the assailants ; but they were pursued with alacrity, and the royal Irish artillery, who had gallantly defended the bridge by means of a single gun, were at length charged by the horse and nearly cut off.

THE loss sustained upon this occasion has been vaguely estimated at six hundred men and eight pieces of cannon ; it is certain, however, that it was considerable, and the suspicion of dissaffection among part of the troops rendered the calamity still greater.

CASTLEBAR, a place of some importance on account of its situation, now became the head-quarters of the invaders, and a number of the deserters from the Irish militia regiments, chiefly actuated by the hopes of booty, joined the invaders ; but to the honour of the French commander, he acquired the odium of many of his new allies, by his scrupulous regard to the lives and property of individuals.

GENERAL HUMBERT being determined to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by his victory, and hoping also to be able to obtain succours and assistance in proportion as his troops advanced into the heart of the country, he moved with his whole force through Swineford and Tubbercurry, towards Tuam, as if with intention to reach the capital, now only eight miles distant. But his career did not extend beyond that town ; for lord Cornwallis, with great propriety, determined to take the field in person, and having collected a formidable body of troops, marched against the invaders. On this, the French commander, knowing that his force must cease to be formidable, the moment that it ceased to act offen-

sively, generously determined on the preservation of such of the insurgents as had joined him, although their conduct had in no instance entitled them to his esteem, and in more than one case not even to his protection; he however, made a retrograde but circuitous march, partly on purpose to enable them to escape, and partly with the hope of receiving reinforcements from France.

In the mean time, the army under the lord lieutenant advanced with hasty steps, on purpose to cut off the progress of the invaders, who in the course of seventeen days had penetrated a considerable way into the kingdom, fought and gained a battle, and appeared to be in possession of the whole of Connaught. At length, a column of troops under lieutenant-colonel Crawford, burning with impatience to wipe off the late disgrace, came up with the rear of the retiring foe at Ballinamuck; and after a short but sharp contest, the French, who, to the astonishment of their conquerors, amounted to no more than eight hundred and forty-four men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.* The loss of the British

* *“ Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the king's forces at the battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8, 1798.*

“ Officers, none killed; privates, killed three, wounded twelve, missing three; horses, killed eleven, wounded one, missing one.

“ Ordnance, arms, and ammunition, taken.—Three light French four-pounders; five ditto ammunition waggon, nearly full of made-up ammunition; one ditto tumbril; seven hundred stand of arms, with belts and pouches; with a great number of pikes.

“ Officer wounded.—Lieut. Stephens, of the Carabineers.”

“ Return of the French army taken prisoners at the battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8, 1798.

“ General and other officers, ninety-six; non-commissioned officers and soldiers, seven hundred and forty-six;

was contemptible ; but a great slaughter took place among such of the insurgents as, trusting to their good fortune, had not disbanded ; for a considerable number of these perished in their flight, about one hundred only having been taken prisoners, among whom were three of their chiefs.*

SCARCELY had a month elapsed, when a small squadron carrying a reinforcement to the French troops was descried, attacked, and discomfited, by sir John Borlase Warren, and the whole captured, two frigates only excepted. Among the prisoners seized upon this occasion was Theobald Wolfe Tone, with whom had originated the plan of the society of United Irishmen, and the idea of an Irish republic,

horses, about one hundred. N. B. ninety-six rebels taken—three of them called general officers, by the name of Roach, Blake, and Teeling. The enemy in their retreat were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in the former actions with his majesty's forces."

" Names of the principal officers of the French forces taken at the battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8, 1798.

" Humbert, general en chief ; Sarazin, general de division ; Fontaine, general de brigade ; Laserure, chief de brigade, attache a l'etat major ; Dufour, ditto ; Aulty, chef de bataillon ; Demanche, ditto ; Toussaint, ditto ; Babin, ditto ; Sibernon, ditto ; Menou, commissaire ordonnateur ; Brillier, commissaire de guerre ; Thibault, payeur ; Puron, aid-de-camp ; Framair, ditto ; Moreau, capitaine vaguesestre general ; Ardouin, chef de brigade ; Serve, chef de bataillon ; Hais, ditto, Mauchaud, ditto ; Brand and Massonet, officers de sainte.

" Recapitulation—sous-officers, ninety-six ; grenadiers, eight ; fusiliers, four hundred and forty ; carbineers, thirty-three ; chasseurs, sixty ; cannoniers, forty-one :—total, officers, ninety-six ;—eight hundred and forty-four.

P. ARDOUN."

** Teeling, Blake, and Roach.*

with the assistance of, but totally independent of, France. After acting in the character of a plenipotentiary to, he was now returning with a commission as a lieutenant-general in the service of the directory, on purpose to support with his sword the principles he had so earnestly inculcated by his pen; and as he knew that his life was forfeited by the laws of his country, he found means to put a period to it while in prison, and thus prevent the ignominy of a public execution.

AFTER this, a few parties still lurked amidst the fastnesses and traversed the mountains, skirmishing with the troops, and carrying on a predatory warfare. An obscure but bold and intrepid chief, of the name of Holt, contrived for a long time to elude the vigilance and baffle all the arts of his pursuers: such at last was his celebrity, that he seemed to resemble one of the Vendean leaders, and had Connaught presented the same resources as the woods and marches of Brittany and Anjou, he appeared calculated to exhibit all the stratagems displayed by a Stofflet or a Charette. This man at length became of such consequence as to obtain terms from government, and his life was preserved on condition of leaving the kingdom.

THUS, after a bloody and disgusting scene of more than three months' duration, ended the insurrection in Ireland, which, in addition to the loss of upwards of one million of property,* as well as the lives of a multitude of the inhabitants, threw the whole of that kingdom into indescribable confusion; and, had but the French directory exhibited the same degree of ability as the prime movers of the conspiracy, might have ended in a measure which can never be suffi-

* *The estimate of the losses on the part of the loyalists alone, amounted to twenty-three thousand five hundred and seventeen pounds six shillings and four pence, according to the account delivered in to the commissioners appointed by act of parliament.*

ently deprecated, not only as tending to the alienation of a large portion of the strength of the empire, but as an event intimately connected with its prosperity and independence.

It is painful to look back on a contest which had its foundation in civil dissabilities, arising out of the religious opinions of the majority of a nation ; for in these assuredly originated the influence, and also the success, of those theorists, who, smitten with the love of new systems, wished to establish a commonwealth in Ireland. But they had woefully mistaken the state of society among the lower classes of their countrymen, who, actuated solely by religious bigotry, would not only have proclaimed their own the dominant and exclusive faith, but, preferring a father Murphy and a father Roche to a Fitzgerald and an O'Connor, would have founded a barbarous theocracy, in which confessors alone would have been permitted to rule.

It is also worthy of remark, that the late civil war in Ireland was not only produced by the denial of Catholic emancipation, but that the agitation of this question is supposed to have afterwards occasioned a chism in the British cabinet, in consequence of which the very ministers who had preferred the certainty of national commotions to a liberal system of polity, afterwards resigned their stations, because they themselves could not then obtain that boon which they had before denied, both to the prayers and the threats of a large portion of the nation.

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A
HISTORY
OF THE
INSURRECTION,

CHIEFLY LIMITED TO THE
County of Wexford,

WITH INTERESTING PAPERS AS AN
APPENDIX.

*THE WHOLE CALCULATED TO DISPLAY THE STATE OF
IRELAND PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLT;*

AND FURNISHING A COPIOUS NARRATIVE OF THE
CIVIL WAR,

WHICH RAGED IN THAT PART OF IRELAND,
IN

1798.

By EDWARD HAY, Esq.

THE
JOURNAL OF
THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Volume 100, Part 1, 1970

London

Published by the Royal Anthropological Institute, 21, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1A 2EJ.
The Institute was founded in 1871 and is a charitable body registered with the Charity Commission for England and Wales. It is also registered with the Department of Social Science and Research, University of London.
The Journal is published twice a year, in May and November. The subscription price of Volume 100, Part 1, 1970, is £12.00 net (US \$30.00) for institutions and £6.00 net (US \$15.00) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the Journal is for their personal use. Single parts are available at £3.00 net (US \$7.50).
Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller or to the publishers. Orders from subscribers in the USA, Canada, Mexico and elsewhere in the Americas should be sent to the publishers, Royal Anthropological Institute, 21, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1A 2EJ, England.

Printed by the University Press, Cambridge


ISSN 0022-2949



INSURRECTION

OF THE

County of Wexford.



BEFORE entering on the narrative of the late insurrection in the county of Wexford, the causes that produced it, and its calamitous consequences, I think it necessary to give a general sketch of its geography and local circumstances, together with a short topographical outline of its boundaries, principal rivers, harbours, and remarkable places, to render references more easy and obvious; adding the estimate of its computed population in 1788, stated by Mr. Bushe, in the transactions of the royal Irish academy, and published in 1790.

THE county of Wexford contains eight baronies, namely, Gorey, Scarawalsh, Ballaghkeen, Bantry, Shelmaliere, Shelburne, Bargy, and Forth, in which are one hundred and forty-two parishes; and the acreable extent of the whole is computed to be 342,900, or 535 square miles. Its population, according to Mr. Bushe's estimate, taking the houses to be 20,448, is 132,912 inhabitants. The town of Wexford itself, contains 1412 houses, and upwards of nine thousand souls; but I apprehend the population is under-rated by Mr. Bushe, as I hope to be enabled to shew at a future period.

THE county of Wexford has been long remarkable for the peaceable demeanor of its inhabitants; and their good behaviour and industry have been held out as exemplary for other parts of Ireland: so little and so seldom infested with disturbance or riots of any kind, that an execution for a capital crime rarely took place there; and, in the calender of its criminals, it has as few on record, as any part either of Great Britain or Ireland.—This county bore such reputation, that landed property was considered of higher value in it, than in many other parts of this country; purchasers not hesitating to advance some years rental more for lands in the county of Wexford, than for the like in most other parts of Ireland. Even at the time that different parts of the nation were disturbed by the riots of white boys, &c. they scarcely made their appearance here, owing to the vigilance and exertions of the gentlemen of the country. These formed an armed association at Enniscorthy, for the preservation of the peace, under the command of Sir Vesey Colclough; and this association afterwards became a corps of volunteers, the first of the kind in the land; and thus can the county of Wexford boast of having set the example and of being the first to promote the illustrious institution of the *volunteers of Ireland*. Having set so conspicuous a precedent, the volunteers of the county of Wexford, by their printed resolutions, fully coincided with those of all other parts of the nation; and, in the spirit of the times, adopted the memorable resolutions of the meeting at Dungannon, and sent their deputation to the grand provincial meeting of Leinster, assembled at the guild-hall in the tholsel of Dublin, on Thursday the 9th of October 1783, and afterwards to the general convention of the volunteers of Ireland, held at the rotunda, on the 10th of November following.

THE liberality of the times invited men of all persuasions to the volunteer ranks—catholics stood by their protestant fellow-soldiers in the glorious cause, and proved themselves worthy of the liberal confi-

ence that dictated their admission, which the existing laws did not strictly sanction. Amidst this general spirit of toleration, however, I am sorry to remark that there was no admission for a catholic among the volunteers of the county of Wexford, a circumstance the more remarkable, as it was the only county in Ireland, that exclusively held up this prejudice. In Ireland a good and kind landlord is a rare blessing; and a traveller, in his passage through the country, must readily distinguish the fostering care and benevolent superintendence of such, wherever to be found. It is easy to gain the affections of the warm-hearted Irish; if a person of rank deigns but to pay them those attentions which are accounted but common care of the lower classes in other countries, he is universally beloved; and, on his approach, delight beams on the countenance of the neighbourhood round him.

EARLY in the year 1792, the catholics of Ireland were invited by a circular letter, inserted in the public papers, signed Edward Byrne; to depute from all the counties and principal towns, delegates, to meet in Dublin to frame a petition to the king for a redress of the grievances under which they laboured. The catholics of the county of Wexford elected delegates, according to the plan proposed, the July following, and the whole kingdom at the same time made like returns. Resolutions of many grand juries and corporations were published soon after, reprobating this circular letter. Counties were assembled for the purpose of joining in the out-cry. The county of Wexford was convened on the 22d of September, by Mr. Derenzy the high sheriff, to take into consideration the circular letter of the general committee of the catholics of Ireland, signed Edward Byrne. The court was opened at one o'clock, when Mr. Maxwell was about to produce resolutions, but the hon. Francis Hutchinson having first risen, and being in possession of the chair, after a manly and eloquent speech of some length, proposed resolutions

declaratory of the rights of the subject : the first resolution, which asserted the right to petition the throne or either house of parliament, though for some time attempted to be got rid of by Mr. C. Dawson on an objection upon a point of order, was at length unanimously adopted, but the other resolutions proposed by Mr. Hutchinson, though equally constitutional and self-evident, were rejected by the party who avowedly came to oppose every measure which might either tend to gratify the feelings or administer a hope of obtaining justice to the roman catholics—Mr. Hutchinson, however, most ably supported his motion, and was powerfully assisted by his brother, the hon. Christopher Hutchinson, (the present member for the city of Cork,) and captain Sweetman who, in the most energetic language, delivered a speech very prophetic of events, that have since taken place ; but no one argument was adduced by his opponents to controvert the principles which he sought to establish.

IN the summer of this year, some tythe-farmers took tythes, in the county of Wexford, which had formerly been rented by others. These, unwilling to lose their prey without an effort to retain it, excited the populace to resist the demands of the new undertakers, whom they called innovaters and intruders. Soon after, oaths were framed in imitation of similar practices in Munster. From the neighbourhood of Tottenham Green, extending towards Mount Leinster, and to that part of the county of Wexford called the Duffrey, the inhabitants were generally sworn. On Sundays, a great concourse of people attended at the different places of worship, as well protestant churches, as catholic chapels ; and swore the several congregations to resist paying tythes under certain restrictions, with a modification of the fees of the catholic clergy, and an injunction to swear their neighbouring parishes. Thus about one eighth of the county was sworn, and, in all probability, the delusion might have generally spread, but for the

timely exertions of several of the country gentlemen, who used all their influence to prevent their tenants and neighbours from joining in such unlawful pursuits. Different magistrates also attended, with parties of the military, at several places of worship, and so put a stop to the general diffusion of this symptom of riot.

ON Sunday, the 7th of July, however, a man was taken in a chapel-yard near Enniscorthy, in the act of administering those unlawful oaths, and sent into the town a prisoner. The report of this fact being quickly circulated through the country, excited those that had been already sworn, to rise in a body, on the Monday immediately following, for this man's liberation. Intelligence of the approach of these people having been received at Enniscorthy, a party of the 56th regiment, under the direction of Mr. Vero, a magistrate, came up with the rioters at the hill of Scobie. Here Mr. Vero received an anonymous letter, as a message from the populace, requesting he would liberate the prisoner, who was represented to be a silly insignificant fellow. Mr. Vero, from motives of humanity, it is to be presumed, although he had a military force to act with him, thought it most prudent not to resist the demand :—the prisoner was set at liberty ; and this so pleased the people, that the air was rent with their shouts of joy ; and after a general volley of what fire-arms they had that would go off, they dispersed to their several homes, without committing further outrage ; and the military marched back to Enniscorthy.

ON the same day, Mr. Maxwell, (now colonel Barry) at the head of a troop of horse, in the capacity of a magistrate, set out from Newtown Barry, scoured the country all along as he passed ; found sixteen men drinking in an ale-house on his way, took them all, and conducted them to Enniscorthy. The sight of so many prisoners, being a very extraordinary event in the county of Wexford, alarmed the peaceable inhabitants of the town. Mr. Rich-

ards, the high sheriff, repaired immediately to Enniscorthy, from whence, with all possible speed, he dispatched messengers to convey this alarming intelligence to all the gentlemen of the neighbourhood; requesting their assistance at a meeting, appointed to be held the next day at Enniscorthy.

On the first day of meeting, an enquiry into the case of the sixteen prisoners took place; and various were the opinions offered on the occasion. I was sorry to observe in the onset, that an inclination prevailed to attribute the riots to a spirit of religious bigotry; but the futility of the prejudiced arguments was so manifestly contrary to the facts, that this ground was soon abandoned. The result of the enquiry proved, that the rioters had assembled, the day before, in great numbers, on Scobie-hill, in a hostile manner, determined to liberate the prisoner by force, if attempted to be detained. The magistrate, who attended on the occasion, was deemed to have acted as he did, from an idea of mistaken lenity, although his indulgent conduct had so pleased the people, that they dispersed without having committed any act that the laws of the country could punish; for at that time it was necessary to read the riot act, to constitute any assemblage an illegal meeting. This measure was not resorted to in the present instance, and if it had, the consequent dispersion of the multitude, must have disarmed the law.

It was, however, thought necessary to impress on the minds of the people, that the magistracy would, at all times, resist the demands of a riotous and armed force, with determined firmness; and as among the sixteen prisoners, there were two taken with fire-arms, it was judged expedient to commit these to Wexford gaol, and liberate the other fourteen, on giving bail for good behaviour. Accordingly, these two men, (whom the law could not punish any more than those who were liberated,) were conducted under a military guard from Enniscorthy, through a part of the country that escaped being sworn, to the

east of the Slaney, and lodged in the gaol of Wexford.

ON the morning of the 11th, great numbers of people assembled from Newtown Barry to the Duffrey, and to Tottenham-green, searching the different houses in their way, on the western side of the river Slaney, making towards Wexford; and forcing every man they met, to come along with them. This concourse of people, being observed by many of the country folk, such as could procure boats to convey them to the eastern side of the river, fled on their approach, and thus escaped, being compelled to constitute a part of the multitude; but still their numbers were considerably accumulated in the course of their progress.

ON this morning also, an anonymous letter was received in Wexford, by a respectable inhabitant of the town, requesting he might apply to the magistrates to liberate the two prisoners, threatening, in case of refusal, that a body of some thousands would come to take them by force. Little notice was taken of this threat, nor did the inhabitants apprehend any alarm, until about three o'clock, a gentleman, who had been forced along by the multitude, was seen galloping into the town, declaring, that he had been sent to inform the magistrates, that an immense concourse of people, then not more than a quarter of a mile distant, and of apparent determination, were coming to enforce the enlargement of the prisoners. Lieutenant Bückby, of the 56th, who had been in Wexford that day alone, on regimental business, was, on his return to join his command at Taghmon, seized upon, and forced to come back with the rioters to Wexford. In a few minutes, about fifty soldiers of the 56th regiment, with three magistrates, headed by the brave Major Vallotton, marched out to meet the rioters, who were all drawn up at the upper end of John-street, on the road leading to Taghmon, in readiness to receive them. The Major, humanely intending to expostulate, advanced a few paces before

his party ; but on seeing one of his officers a prisoner with the rioters, his benevolent intentions were dissipated ; and losing all patience, he made a blow of his sword at the man who had been induced to meet him in expostulation, and wounded him severely. This provoked resistance, and he in return, received a desperate wound in the groin, of which he languished for some days and died.

Thus perished the gallant Vallotton, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Gibraltar, under the immortal Elliot, as first aid-de-camp to that general !—Though parleying with rioters, may not at all times, perhaps, be adviseable ; yet, when once entered upon, the dignity of temper should be maintained, and it is much to be lamented, that the major did not continue his original disposition ;—for though it should not stand the test of authoritative severity, yet the event might have proved as bloodless as on the previous occasion near Enniscorthy. An attack on both sides immediately took place—The contest was but short. In a few minutes, the rioters gave way in all directions. Those who had been forced along by them, were the first to sheer off, when they found an opportunity, over hedges and ditches, wherever they thought they could best make their escape ; numbers not knowing whither they were flying. It may not be unworthy of remark, that captain Boyd, then of the Wexford militia, had been to Taghmon in the morning, with a party of the 56th regiment, to escort a prisoner ; and was now on his return to Wexford as far as Bettiville, having no other possible intimation of what had happened, but the confused flight of the affrighted rabble. He lay in ambuscade for their approach, and, from behind the ditches, shot numbers of the fugitives. The weather being intensely warm, occasioned the death of a great many of the wounded, who might otherwise recover ; but lest their wounds might betray them, they did not apply for medical assistance. Many too, who were badly wounded, ran as far as they could, and, being

exhausted, crawled for concealment into the ditches, where they perished, and whence the first intimation of their fate was conveyed by the putrid exhalation from their bodies. Eleven lay dead on the scene of action, in John-street; one of whom was a poor cobbler of the town, shot by accident. The others were publicly exposed for some time, and were at length indentified. Among them there appeared four freeholders, who had been polled at the preceding election for the county. - At that time, the catholics of Ireland could not be freeholders in their native land, by the existing laws of which, they were excluded from that privilege. In the hurry and fright of the action, eight men sought refuge in a hay-loft, where they were discovered after the conflict, made prisoners, and committed to gaol. One of them died of his wounds, two became informers, and five were brought to trial, condemned at the ensuing assizes, and executed on the 26th of July following. One of these men, who had been in town that day to market, was on his return home obliged to come back with the rioters; and although he was proved a man of most unexceptionable character, yet such was the idea entertained of the necessity of public example, that his character, or the circumstance of innocence, did not save him.*

THE inhabitants of Wexford, to prevent such another surprise, armed and embodied themselves in four different divisions, officered by several gen-

* *This bloody scene, may be considered an event calculated to provoke, and accelerate the Rebellion. It may be compared to the rash effusion of American blood at Lexington, and which became the signal for all America to join in the common defence. The execution of the man who had been at the market, and who had been compelled to join the rioters, was a legal murder. The enquiry made in a court of justice, would have been limited to the continuance of the force.*

EDITOR.

tllemen who had served in the army ; and all under the command of colonel (now general) Nicholls. He gave his orders every day on parade, and different patroles perambulated the town and its vicinity every night. Two pieces of cannon were planted on that part of the barrack-hill, which commands the whole street, and the entrance to the gaol ; and four others were ready to be brought to any quarter in case of emergency.

THE association for preserving the peace of the county, assembled always at Enniscorthy, (that being the most central situation.)

AT the meetings of the association, I perceived, with regret, an insidious spirit, eager and active to attach the entire odium of the disturbances exclusively on the catholics, although the damning public spectacle, on the exposurc of the killed at Wexford, should, surely, ever have deterred barefaced calumny and prejudiced misrepresentation from future exhibition : yet, the malignant traducers of their countrymen to foreigners believed, or affected to believe, this vile reproach on mere assertion.

THESE groundless insinuations were carried to such lengths, that, even in the house of lords, in the assemblage of the peers of the realm, lord Farnham asserted, with confidence, that the riots in the county of Wexford had become seriously alarming ; that the people held nightly meetings, and from parish to parish, had sworn not to pay rents, tythes or taxes, and that the lower orders of catholics had risen in consequence of a disappointed expectation of receiving ten pounds a year, as the consequent advantage of their emancipation, which they had been promised by their delegates. This, lord Farnham alleged in the most solemn manner, on the authority of letters received by himself, from a quarter the most respectable, he said, in the county of Wexford.

THE catholics of the county met at Wexford, on the 30th of July, for the purpose of publicly avowing their sentiments and principles. To this effect they

adopted resolutions which were given to the world in all the public papers of the day.

IN the year 1795, when lord Fitz William's recall from the government of Ireland was made known, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Wexford were summoned to meet on purpose to deliberate on this unexpected event. In the absence of the sheriff, the summons was signed by Cornelius Grogan, Isaac Cornock, Thomas Grogan Knox, Harvey Hay, and John Grogan, magistrates of the county. The meeting, which was held in the county court-house of Wexford, on the 23d of March, was very numerously attended. Unanimous resolutions were entered into; a petition to the king was voted; and Cornelius Grogan, Edward Hay, and Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, Esqrs. were appointed delegates to present it to his majesty. An address to lord Fitz William was also voted, and Sir Thomas Esmonde, and Sir Frederick Flood, Baronets, and William Harvey, Esq. were appointed, and they set off instantly for Dublin, to present it to the lord lieutenant, who was at the time hourly expected to leave the country. The regret felt on the recall of this nobleman, even whose good intentions produced such cordiality and harmony amongst all ranks and descriptions of people, is scarcely credible. From that period may be dated the origin of that dreadful state of calamity and misfortune in which Ireland has been since involved, for it is now evident to all, that had the measures intended to be carried into effect by him been adopted, the nation would have continued its happy career of uncommon progressive prosperity. It was proposed to his lordship, by the *British cabinet* to carry *the union*, at a time that he had got the money bills passed, and was pledged to the country to have the popular measures alluded to, brought forward in parliament.

It was even suggested, that these measures might go hand in hand with the other; but he preferred being recalled to giving his support to a business that so strongly met his disapprobation; nor, indeed, is it

at all probable, that the Irish legislature and people would have consented, at that day, to yield up the dignity of independance for any consideration the ministry could pretend to offer.

THE removal of lord Fitz Willam must ever be considered as one of the greatest misfortunes, that, in the revolution of ages, has befallen this devoted nation. It originated a train of calamitous circumstances, which the disclosing information of every day renders more and more lamentable to the friends of Ireland. The great majority of the people was insulted, *public faith was violated*; the cup of redress was dashed from the lips of expectation, and it cannot be wondered at that the anger of disappointment should have ensued.

THE principle of volunteering, while it was productive of social and liberal intercourse, appears to have diffused a spirit of conviviality throughout the country; and so far were the pleasures of the table indulged, that the fortunes of many were thereby impaired, and their distresses obliged them to resign their independence. Representatives and their most zealous friends and adherents fell into a dereliction and abandonment of public concerns, at the same time that they neglected their private interests; and hence the county may date the loss of its independent character. Of this a most striking instance can be adduced. At an election, some years back, one of the candidates, who was esteemed by his party a *staunch* patriot, came forward and declared to the people, on the hustings, that "no human consideration should ever induce him to accept of a place or a pension, " if he became their representative." This declaration, however, as will appear by the sequel, he seems *to have thought no more about than if he had swallowed a poached egg*; (a memorable expression of his own on a late occasion.) He was chosen a knight of the shire, and at a subsequent meeting, he was actually *absolved* from this solemn and voluntary engagement; nay, truly it was requested, *he would ac-*

cessit of some employment ; and he shortly after meekly condescended to gratify their wishes, by accepting of a pension and place, which he still comfortably retains, and is likely to retain as long as he lives. It must be here observed, by the bye, that the object of such a *plenary indulgence* must be greatly endeared to such attached and accommodating constituents ; the pleasing effect of convivial talents among constant companions who thus constitute their favourite the king of his company ; a situation so fascinating to some dispositions, that they will risque all possible hazards for its maintenance. It will not be easily impressed on ingenious minds, that men who would fain uphold in the highest degree the dignified character of independence, should so far forget themselves as to hold forth to the world, in a *public paper*, such a memorial of total indifference to that character. Yet in the case before us the fact is incontrovertible.

It has been too common a foible with some of our gentry to aim at equal splendour and expence with their superiors in fortune. Such men, before being aware of their situation, have incautiously expended largely above their incomes. They count upon places and employments, of great emolument, for themselves and their children ; and thus they abandon all idea of the certain pursuits of industry, trade and honourable profession : and it is also pretty notorious, that the county of Wexford has been, for some time past, what is not unaptly termed *lord-ridden*. Slaves to their superiors, but tyrants to their inferiors ; these needy adventurers become the tools of prevailing power. Justices of the peace are selected from this class, and these, by this degree of elevation, (certainly to them the station is an exalted one) think themselves raised to a level of equality with the most respectable gentlemen in the country. But *their ignorance* is so *preposterous*, and their behaviour so assuming, that men of education, talents and fortune, are induced to withhold themselves from

a situation they would otherwise grace, as it might oblige them to confer with fellows with whom they would not by any means hold communion or keep company.

In the beginning of the year 1795, parties of contending rioters, denominated *jeep o' day boys*, and *defenders*, disturbed different parts of the province of Ulster, by acts of violence and outrage against each other. Some say their animosities originated from electioneering. To these succeeded, in the summer of the same year, a description of public disturbers calling themselves orangemen, who now made their first appearance in the county of Armagh. Their object appears to have been, not to suffer a catholic to remain within the limits of their sphere of action. They posted up on the doors of the catholics, peremptory notices of departure; specifying the precise time, a *week* at the farthest, pretty nearly in the following words:—"To hell or to Connaught with you, you bloody papists; and if you are not by" (mentioning the day) "*we will come and destroy yourselves and your properties: we all hate the papists here.*"—They generally were as good as their words. Even the gentlemen of landed interest in the county did not exhibit, by any public testimony, a disavowal of these horrid atrocities, until the period of setting the forsaken territory roused them from their slumbers. Then they discovered, to their amazement and dismay, that, among the few bidders who appeared, no one was found to offer more for any lot, than about half what was paid for the same before by the catholic tenant. Then indeed, and not till then, did the banishment of the catholics appear alarming. It was seriously alarming to gentlemen, thus in a moment to lose half their incomes, but until this fatal discovery was made, the number of *wretched poor proscribed and violently driven from their homes, deprived of their cabins and their all*, was a circumstance unworthy of these gentlemen's notice.

To counteract this calamity as much as possible, a numerous meeting of the magistrates of the county of Armagh was held at the special instance of the governor, lord viscount Gosford, on the 28th day of December, 1795. To this assemblage, on taking the chair as president, his lordship spoke a pointed address on the occasion; which, together with the proceedings, was published in the *Dublin Journal* of the 5th of January, 1796.

A circumstantial detail of these occurrences in the North would be inconsistent with my original intention, of confining myself, for the present, to the transactions in the county of Wexford; but I have been led into this, I hope, excusable digression, in order to account to the reader, in a great measure, for the dreadful impression made on the minds of the people, at a future period, by the rumours, that orangemen were sworn for the destruction of the catholics! Were these rumours to be grounded only on lord Gosford's statement, (too authentic to admit a possibility of denial;) and true only in the extent his lordship has allowed them, with what terrible apprehension must they fill the minds of a simple, oppressed and degraded people, such as the Irish peasantry are generally known to be for ages past?

VARIOUS, as has been observed, were the descriptions of the disturbers of the public peace in Ulster. Numbers went about in the night, searching houses, and taking away all the arms they could find, without violating any other property. This becoming generally known, the houses were usually opened upon the first summons. This easy mode of admittance was afterwards taken advantage of by common robbers; who at first only assumed the character of disarmers, to come at their prey with less trouble and more certainty. After a continued series of similar circumstances of violence and outrage, arising from a nation's greatest curse, the disunion of its people, out which our limits will not permit us to detail at present, general Lake issued his proclamation for

disarming the inhabitants of the North of Ireland, on the 13th of March, 1797; and on the 21st of the same month, Mr. Grattan, after a speech delivered with his usual force of talent and brilliant ability, moved for an enquiry into the causes which produced this proclamation; but his motion was unfortunately rejected.—The persecutions in the county of Armagh were so flagrant, and the conduct of many of the magistrates so contrary to law, that *applications* were made to the court of king's bench, for attachments against several of them, but a bill of indemnity prevented a judicial investigation of their conduct.

THE Earl of Moira, with that dignified humanity, which has ever graced his noble character, brought the distresses of Ireland before the British house of lords, on the 22d of November 1797; when he gave a heart-rending description, in his native strain of elevation, of the savage cruelties practised by the military against the people; and offered at the moment, to produce at the bar incontrovertible proof of his assertions. He concluded his able statement, by moving an address to the sovereign, the principal purport of which was, “humbly hoping that his majesty might be graciously pleased to take into his paternal consideration, the disturbed state of Ireland; and to adopt such lenient measures, as might appear to his royal wisdom and benignity, best calculated to restore tranquility and excite affection.” But sad to tell, his lordship was not more fortunate in the British house of lords, than was Mr. Grattan the preceding March in the Irish house of commons. Both motions had the same unlucky fate of rejection. On the following day, (the 23d of November,) Mr. Fox made a similar benevolent and patriotic effort, (and who is unacquainted with his powers?) in the British house of commons, but with the like success. He concluded a lucid and animated speech with the following pointed and emphatic quotation from Cicero, which I cannot resist inserting: “*Carum esse civibus, bene de republica mereri,*

"*laudari, coli, diligi, gloriosum est: metui vero et in odio esse, invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum.*" "To be dear to one's countrymen, to deserve well of the common weal, to be praised, to be respected, to be beloved, is glorious: but to be feared, and encompassed with hatred, is invidious, is detestable, is tottering, is ruinous."

THE appointment of general sir Ralph Abercromby, on the 12th of December, 1797, to the chief command of the forces in Ireland, gave general satisfaction, and afforded a ray of hope to drooping despondency. The subsequent display of his eminent virtues evinced the justice of favourable expectation. Having been quartered in Ireland, through most of his gradations of well-merited promotion, he possessed a perfect local knowledge of the country; and he now resolved in person to visit every district, and thus he made a tour of observation through the whole island. After a strict review of every object worthy of his attention, he published on his return to Dublin general orders to the several military commanders, wherein after having reprobated the irregularities of the soldiery, he directed the necessary restraint for their disorderly conduct. These orders were issued from the adjutant-general's office, in Dublin, on the 26th of February, 1797.

DURING the American war, at one time, nearly all the troops on the Irish establishment were drawn off to support that unfortunate contest. The *combined fleets of France and Spain* were riding *triumphant* in the channel, and our shores were every moment threatened with a formidable invasion. In this perilous situation Ireland was advised by the British ministry to defend herself as well as she could, as she was now left no other resource. The latent spirit of the nation was roused at the approach of danger. Upwards of one hundred thousand heroes instantly appeared, self-clothed, self-armed, perfectly equipped and appointed, ready to oppose, with dauntless courage, the menacing foe that would rashly

venture to insult their coast. These were the ever memorable and ever glorious volunteers of Ireland. Our enemies were all at once, completely scared, they shrunk into their ports; and our shores, then too commanding for an attempt to land, were left unmolested. Our people were united in harmonious resolution; every breast glowed with patriotic ardour; and the salvation of Ireland, otherwise left to inevitable destruction, was the consequence. The hour of security and social intercourse produced reflexion. The saviours of their country quickly discovered that they existed in a state of thralldom to the British parliament. They demanded a redress of grievances; it could not be refused; and the national legislature was consequently declared independent. This great event took place in 1782, and a rapid encrease of national prosperity succeeded; our commerce being less shackled, became more extensive, and the capital of the island improved in splendour and magnificence. But it was with the utmost reluctance and under circumstances of imperious necessity that these concessions seemed to be made by the British cabinet, while the most malignant envy rankled in the bosoms of the enemies of Ireland. But there was no alternative. A diffusion of liberal sentiment and an unity of interests had combined men of all ranks and persuasions in the common cause. The unhallowed monster of religious bigotry could no longer be introduced to foment prejudice and sow baleful division; all was concord and unanimity. The same year, among other means of disturbing the harmony of the people, the right reverend doctor Woodward, late bishop of Cloyne, taking advantage of some disturbances, excited by the exactions of tythe-farmers in Munster, fulminated a pamphlet pronouncing the church and state in danger. The trump of discord thus deliberately blown, was resounded by an intemperate writer, under the assumed name of "Theophilus." These, and such like productions, dictated by the spirit of discord,

were refuted by several able pens of the day, but particularly convicted by the irresistible force of the benevolent O'Leary's dignified ridicule. This divine, professing the true spirit of the gospel, excited by the purest motives of patriotism and christian charity steps forward, and by his exhortations and example, contributed more effectually to quiet the minds of the people, and appease the tempest, by bringing them back to a sense of their religion, and without the loss of a life, effected more than an host prompted by prejudiced coercion, or a formidable army. The happy effects of the exertions of this extraordinary man, whose talents were so eminently useful at this critical period, attracted the notice of majesty, and with becoming gratitude, unsolicited on his part, received a small annuity as a token of royal favour; his talents were considered too conspicuous to lie dormant, and very advantageous offers were made to him to write for a periodical publication that militated against his principles. Yet all these exertions did not allay the public ferment, and the hateful and melancholy effects of religious dissension were but too general; and, hence may be deduced the most lamentable misfortunes to Ireland, *the revival of religious enmity.*

THE trampled populace were goaded to resistance; their smothered resentments burst into a flame that was not very *easily* extinguished; the nation was distracted, and the long premeditated measure of incorporating union succeeded, after a spirited but ineffectual resistance; and thus ended the political drama of Ireland. But to return.

SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY, after the publication of his general orders, and the knowledge he had acquired in his general view of the country, endeavoured in vain to impress the minds of those in power with his own well-founded opinion, that coercive measures, in the extent determined on, were by no means necessary in Ireland. Unwilling, therefore, to tarnish his military fame, or risque the loss of humane and

manly character by leading troops to scenes of cold-blood slaughter and civil desolation; sooner than sanction by his presence proceedings so abhorrent from his nature, he resigned the chief command of the army in Ireland, on the 29th of April, 1798.

A strong confirmation, if further proof were at all necessary, of the great discrimination of general Abercromby's comprehensive mind, is his marked selection of a dignified character with whom to share his confidence, as second in command when going on the expedition to Egypt. His choice could not have fallen more judiciously than on lord Hutchinson, whose brilliant achievements and splendid triumphs have since so largely added to Irish fame, and adorned himself with merited honours. This nobleman appears to have rivaled his great friend as well in humanity as glory. Their opinions respecting Ireland, strictly coincided. Witness his lordship's well-known sentiment of "I ABOMINATE THE TORTURE," delivered in the winter of 1798, in the Irish parliament in the debate on the bill of indemnity, for screening the violent proceedings of the sheriff of the county of Tipperary; and it is happy such sentiment did not deprive him of command.

IMMEDIATELY on the departure of general Abercromby, the military were sent out at free quarters, in the county of Kildare, and parts of the counties of Carlow and Wicklow. What hardships, what calamity, what misery must not the wretched people suffer, on whom were let loose such a body as the soldiery then in Ireland are described to be in the general orders before alluded to of the 26th of April, 1798?—They became masters of every house in the country, the real owners *were obliged* to procure them every necessary they thought proper to demand; and, as their will was then the only law, and a very imperious and tyrannical law it was, the people dare not, except at the risque of their lives, complain of any outrage or brutality of which their savage disposition prompted them to be guilty. The inevitable consequence

was, that such horrid acts were perpetrated, such shocking scenes were exhibited as must rouse the indignation and provoke the abhorrence of all not dead to humane feeling, or not barbarised by unnatural hatred of their fellow-creatures !

PREVIOUS to the spring assizes of 1798, several prisoners were transmitted from Wexford to abide their trials at Wicklow, on the prosecution of an informer, whose real name was Morgan, and who had been transported some years before for robbery, but had returned to the country under the assumed name of Cooper. This miscreant was encouraged by some magistrates of the county of Wicklow, to swear informations against united Irishmen ; and this he did most copiously. On producing him, however, at Wicklow, his character appeared so infamous, that the gentlemen of the bar were unreserved in declaring that the baseness of such a nefarious villain reflected not a little on those magistrates that encouraged him to come forward. All the prisoners were consequently acquitted, and it was therefore not deemed expedient to bring him on to prosecute at Wexford, where there were also some prisoners confined on his information.

AT this assizes also one man of the name of Collins, otherwise M^cQuillen, was brought to trial for spreading false news, and alarming the country ; it was clearly proved, that this man circulated a report of the arrival of the French off Bantry, and that the yeomen or orangemen (indifferently supposed by the people to be the same) were to march to resist the invasion ; and that it was designed by them previously to commit a massacre upon the catholics of the country. Such implicit belief did the report gain, that every person from Bray to Arklow, between *four and five and twenty miles* extent *abandoned* their habitations, and slept in the open fields, and some women were even delivered in that exposed condition. It is worthy of remark, that these people must have from some previous cause been led to form so bad an opinion of their

neighbours, when they gave credit with so much facility to these reports.

I should not dwell upon these apparently trivial circumstances; but that the public can judge of the truth only by a faithful relation of facts; and these facts also tend to prove that the system of the united Irishmen had not diffused itself through the county of Wexford to the extent so confidently affirmed by an author, whose veracity in almost every other instance appears equally questionable. The truth is, that no authentic proof existed at the time to support these arrogant assertions; and subsequent information confirms how little the county of Wexford was concerned in that conspiracy, as no return appears of its being organised, in the discoveries of the secret committees of the houses of lords and commons. It would be as contrary to truth, however, to say there were no united Irishmen in the county of Wexford; but by every statement worthy of credit, that has ever appeared, their numbers were comparatively fewer in this than in any other county in Ireland; and such as were of that description here seem to have been privately sworn in the detached unconnected manner of the first progress of that business, before it assumed the form of regular organisation. According to this system now so universally known, the United Irishmen of the county of Wexford, considering the means whereby those that were urged into the conspiracy, do not appear to come strictly under that denomination; for their first inducement to combine was to render their party strong enough to resist the orangemen, whom they actually believed to be associated and sworn for the extermination of the catholics; and "*to wade ankle deep in their blood!*"—What dreadful notions of terror and alarm must not fill the minds of people believing themselves thus devoted to inevitable destruction? so strongly, indeed, was it endeavoured to impress the horrid belief, that it was frequently reported through the country, that the

orangemen were to rise in the night-time to murder all the catholics.

ON the 30th of March, 1798, all Ireland was put under martial law, and officially declared to be in a state of rebellion, by a proclamation from the lord lieutenant and privy council of the realm. In this proclamation the military were directed to use the most summary method of repressing disturbances.

THE orange system made no public appearance in the county of Wexford, until the beginning of April, on the arrival there of the North Cork militia, commanded by lord Kingsborough. In this regiment, there were a great number of orangemen, who were zealous in making proselytes, and displaying their devices; having medals and orange ribbons triumphantly pendant from their bosoms.

It is said, that the North Cork regiment were also the inventors—but they certainly were the introducers of pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any person having their hair cut short, (and therefore called a crotty, by which appellation the soldiery designated an united Irishman,) on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a gaol-house, where caps either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers. The terror and dismay that these outrages occasioned are inconceivable. A serjeant of the North Cork, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, was most ingenious in devising new modes of torture. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair cut close and then set on fire; some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipt off; sometimes an entire ear, and often both ears were completely cut off; and many lost part of their noses during the like

preparations. Some of the miserable sufferers on these shocking occasions, or some of their relations or friends actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut short the hair of several persons whom they either considered as enemies or suspected of having pointed them out as objects for such desperate treatment. Females were also exposed to the grossest insults from these military ruffians. Many women had their petticoats, handkerchiefs, caps, ribbons, and all parts of their dress that exhibited a shade of green (considered the national colour of Ireland) torn off, and their ears assailed by the most vile and indecent ribaldry. This was a circumstance so unforeseen, and of course so little provided against, that many women of enthusiastic loyalty suffered outrage in this manner. Some of these ladies would not on any account have worn any thing which they could even imagine partook in any degree of *croppyism*. They were, however, unwarily involved until undeceived by these gentle hints from these kind guardians of allegiance.

GREAT as the apprehensions from orangemen had been before among the people, they were now multiplied tenfold, and aggravated terror led them in numbers to be sworn united Irishmen, in order to counteract the supposed plan of their rumoured exterminators. The fears of the people became so great at length, that they forsook their houses in the night and slept, (if under such circumstances they could sleep) in the ditches.

THE minds of the people being thus greatly irritated, (particularly by the impunity of the acts of outrage already related) and their alarms having made them abandon their houses at night, they collected in great numbers in their lurking places.—Measures of self-defence were naturally suggested in consequence of their apprehensions, and they were readily led to adopt the means that were deemed best calculated to ensure security. The united Irishmen eagerly advanced the arguments most likely to induce

the body of the people to embrace their system, and they met with powerful support and co-operation from those of the opposite faction; whose violent conduct and zealous persecutions proved more efficacious in urging on the people, than any allurements whatsoever.

ON the 25th day of April, 1798, an assembly of twenty-seven magistrates was held at Gorey, where it was resolved, that the whole county of Wexford should be forthwith proclaimed; and this accordingly took place on the 27th.—From this period forward many magistrates of the county made themselves conspicuous in practising the summary mode of quieting the country, by the *infliction of all kinds of torture*. They seem, indeed, to have emulated or rather rivaled the conduct of the *magistrates* of other counties, who had made trial of the *salutary* effects of persecution somewhat sooner. In the several neighbourhoods of Ross, Enniscorthy and Gorey, the people suffered most; as in each of these towns a magistrate started up eager for the *glorious distinction* of outstripping all others, each by his own superior deeds of death, deflagration and torture! *Yet, if

* *The system of whipping, is the most brutal which ever disgraced any government—Martial law, which was proclaimed in March, 1798, subjected every suspected person to be made a public spectacle, and to be disgraced by the most ignominious punishment that could be inflicted. It is no wonder, a continuance of this inhuman, insulting practice, drove multitudes into rebellion.—It was not the want of will, but of concert and of those resources which an oppressed people can seldom command, which prevented the overthrow of the British government at that period. The wisest and best men attached to the government abhorred those cruelties.—A Moore—an Abercromby—a Cornwallis—~~the Duke of~~ an Earl of Clare.—Lord ———, and other abandoned men, were eager for whipping—burning houses and general desolation.*

[EDITOR.]

burning houses, whipping and half-hanging numbers hanging some all out, and shooting others, with attendant atrocities, constitute the characteristic of loyal and good magistrates, they must be allowed strong claim to eminence. Many unfortunate men who were taken in their own houses, were strung up as it were to be hanged, but were let down now and then to try if strangulation would oblige them to become informers. After these and the like experiments, several persons languished for some time and at length perished in consequence of them. Smiths and carpenters, whose assistance was considered indispensable in the fabrication of pikes, were pointed out, on *evidence* of their trades, as the first and fittest objects of torture. But the sagacity of some magistrates became at length so acute, from habit and exercise, that they *discerned* an united Irishman even at the first glance; and their zeal never suffered any person, whom they deigned to honour with such distinction, to pass off without convincing proof of their attention.

THE two following instances are selected from "An account of the late Rebellion," by Mr. Alexander, a protestant inhabitant of Ross, who keeps an academy in that town:

"I now heard of many punishments of suspected persons, both by flogging and strangulation, being put into execution in the barrack-yard, (in Ross) to extort confession of guilt. There were two of these victims brought from the barrack to the court-house to undergo a repetition of former punishments. One of them of the name of Driscoll was found in Camlin-wood, near Ross, where he said, he generally wandered as a hermit. Upon him were found two Roman catholic prayer-books, with which it was supposed he administered oaths of disloyalty. He had been strangled three times and flogged four times during confinement, but to no purpose! his fellow-sufferer was one Fitzpatrick of Dunganstown, near Sutton's parish. This man had been a Newfoundland

lor, but long utterly disqualified to follow that occupation, by reason of an inveterate scurvy in his legs. He therefore commenced abecedarian, near Sutton's parish. It happened that a magistrate who was a Roman, and others of his corps, passed by his noisy mansion, which was no other than a little thatched stable, that like a bee-hive, proclaimed the industry of its inhabitants. The magistrate entered, followed by the other yeomen. 'Here is a man,' says the magistrate, speaking of the master, as I shall call him, though his authority was now for some months to have an end; and a severe vacation it was. 'Here is a man, who I presume, can have no objection to take the oath of allegiance.—What do you say? Mr. Lecher!'—'*O dar a leoursa,*' (i. e. by this book) 'I will take it sir, and thank you for bringing it to me.' saying, he took the book, which the magistrate held forth, and not only took the oath with the most cordial emphasis, but added another expressive of his loyalty at all times. Upon this, the magistrate regarded his companions with a look of dry humour, and observed, that *this must be a loyal man indeed.* Well then, my loyal friend, I suppose you will readily swear to all the pikes, and to the owners and possessors of them, of which you have any knowledge?' The man swore he had no certain knowledge of the kind; and that he never saw a rebel's pike in his life, or a pike of any kind since the rebellion. 'Then,' says the magistrate, 'you shall swear that you will, to the utmost of your future knowledge, or information this way, give in the best manner you can, all such information to a lawful magistrate, or other officer in his majesty's service.' No sir,' answered Fitzpatrick, 'I will not swear that: I will bring no man's blood on my head, and if I do inform, who will support and protect me, when I have lost all my scholars, and my neighbours turn upon me?'—Upon this he was immediately apprehended and escorted to Ross: he was not strangled, however but flogged with great severity; and it was no with dry eyes that I saw

the punishment inflicted on this humble pioneer of literature. It is most certain that the severities in general, served to accelerate the rebellion.

MANY innocent men were thus taken up, while peaceably engaged in their own private concerns, walking along the road, or passing through the market in the several towns, without any previous accusation, but in consequence of military whim, or the caprice of magisterial loyalty; and those who had been at a market, and were passed by unnoticed, had the new mode of a public exhibition to bring home, for the unfortunate victims thus seized upon, were instantly subjected, at least, to the torture of public whipping. People of timid dispositions, therefore, avoided going to market, fearing that they might be forced to display the like spectacle. Provisions of course became dear, for want of the usual supply in the market towns, and the military, to redress this evil, went out into the country and brought in what they wanted, at whatever price they pleased; the owners thinking themselves well treated, if they got but half the value of their goods; and, in case of a second visit, happy if they escaped unhurt, which however was not always the case; and thus were the minds of the people brought to admit such powerful impressions of terror, that death itself was sometimes the consequence. The following is a strong instance of this melancholy fact, related by the Rev. Mr. Gordon:—

“WHETHER an insurrection in the then existing state of the kingdom would have taken place in the county of Wexford, or, in case of its eruption, how far less formidable and sanguinary it would have been, if no acts of severity had been committed by the soldiery, the yeomen, or their supplementary associates, without the direct authority of their superiors, or command of the magistrate, is a question, which I am not able positively to answer. In the neighbourhood of Gorey, if I am not mistaken, the terror of the whippings was in particular so great, that the people would have been extremely glad, to

renounce for ever all notions of opposition to government, if they could have been assured of permission to remain in a state of quietness. As an instance of this terror, I shall relate the following fact:—on the morning of the 23d of May, a labouring man, named Dennis M'Daniel, came to my house with looks of the utmost consternation and dismay, and confessed to me, that he had taken the united Irishman's oath, and had paid for a pike, with which he had not yet been furnished, nineteen pence halfpenny, to one Kilty a smith, who had administered the oath to him and many others. While I sent my eldest son, who was a lieutenant of yeomanry, to arrest Kilty, I exhorted M'Daniel to surrender himself to a magistrate, and make his confession; but this he positively refused, saying that he should, in that case, be lashed to make him produce a pike, which he had not, and to confess what he knew not. I then advised him, as the only alternative, to remain quietly at home, promising that if he should be arrested on the information of others, I would represent his case to the magistrates. He took my advice, but the fear of arrest and lashing had so taken possession of his thoughts that he could neither eat nor sleep; and on the morning of the 25th, he fell on his face and expired in a little grove near my house."

WHILE the minds of the people were in this state of distraction and alarm, numbers condemned to transportation, by the magistrates of other counties, daily passed thro' the county of Wexford on their way to Duncannon-fort. Groups of from twelve to fifteen carloads at a time have gone through Ross alone. These terrifying examples added if possible to the apprehensions already entertained, and the precedent was soon after put in practice in the county of Wexford itself.

GREAT as the atrocities already related may appear, (and surely they are very deplorable) enormities still more shocking to humanity remained to be perpetrated. However grating to generous and benevolent

feelings the sad detail must prove, imperious truth imposes the irksome necessity of proceeding to facts.

Mr. Hunter Gowan had for many years distinguished himself by his activity in apprehending robbers, for which he was rewarded with a pension of 100*l.* per ann. and it were much to be wished that every one who has obtained a pension had as well deserved it. Now exalted to the rank of magistrate, and promoted to be captain of a corps of yeomen, he was zealous in exertions to inspire the people about Gorey with dutiful submission to the magistracy, and a respectful awe of the yeomanry. On a public day in the week preceding the insurrection, the town of Gorey beheld the triumphal entry of Mr. Gowan at the head of his corps, with his sword drawn, and a human finger stuck on the point of it.

WITH this trophy he marched into the town, parading up and down the streets several times, so that there was not a person in Gorey who did not witness this exhibition; while in the meantime the triumphant corps displayed all the devices of orangmen. After the labour and fatigue of the day, Mr. Gowan and his men retired to a public house to refresh themselves, and, *like true blades of game*, their punch was stirred about with the finger that had *graced* their ovation, in imitation of keen fox hunters who *whisk* a bowl of punch with the brush of a fox before their boozing commences. This captain and magistrate afterwards went to the house of Mr. Jones, where his daughters were, and, while taking a snack that was set before him, he bragged of having blooded his corps that day, and that they were as staunch blood-hounds as any in the world. The daughters begged of their father to shew them ~~the~~ ^{his} croppy finger, which he deliberately took from his pocket and handed to them. Misses dandled it about with senseless exultation, at which a young lady in the room was so shocked that she turned about to a window, holding her hand to her face to avoid the horrid sight. Mr. Gowan perceiving this, took the finger from his daughters, and

archly dropped it into the disgusted lady's bosom. She instantly fainted, and thus the scene ended!!! Mr. Gowan constantly boasted of this, and other *similar heroic actions*, which he repeated in the presence of brigade major Fitzgerald, on whom he had waited officially, but so far from meeting with his wonted applause, the major obliged him instantly to leave the company.

ENNISCORTHY and its neighbourhood were similarly protected by the activity of Archibald Hamilton Jacob, aided by the yeoman cavalry thoroughly equipped for this kind of service. They scoured the country, having in their train a regular executioner, completely appointed with his implements, a hanging rope and a cat-o'-nine-tails. Many detections and consequent prosecutions of united Irishmen soon followed. A law had been recently enacted, that magistrates, upon their own authority, could sentence to transportation persons accused and convicted before them. Great numbers were accordingly taken up, prosecuted and condemned. Some however, appealed to an adjournment of a quarter-session held in Wexford, on the 23d of May, in the county court-house; at which three and twenty magistrates from different parts of the county attended. Here all the private sentences were confirmed, except that of one man who was brought in on horseback that morning, carrying a pike with a handle of enormous length, through Wexford town, on his way to the gaol. This exhibition procured him the reversion of his sentence, at the instance of the very magistrates who had condemned him.—In the course of the trials on these appeals, in the public court-house of Wexford, Mr. A. H. Jacob appeared as evidence against the prisoners; and publicly avowed the happy discoveries he had made in consequence of inflicting the torture: many instances, of whipping and strangulation he particularly detailed with a degree of selfe-approbation and complacency, that clearly demonstrated how highly he was pleased to rate the merits of his own *great and loyal* services!

IN Enniscorthy, Ross and Gorey, several persons were not only put to the torture in the usual manner, but a greater number of houses were burnt, and measures of the strongest coercion were practised, although the people continued to flock in to the different magistrates for protections. Mr. Perry of Inch, a protestant gentleman was seized on and brought a prisoner to Gorey, guarded by the North Cork militia; one of whom, the noted serjeant, nicknamed *Tom the devil*; gave him woeful experience of his ingenuity and adroitness at devising torment. As a specimen of his *savoir faire*, he cut off the hair of his head very closely, but the sign of the cross from the front to the back, and transversely from ear to ear, still closer; and probably a pitched cap not being in readiness, gun powder was mixed through the hair, which was then set on fire, and the shocking process repeated, until every atom of hair that remained, could be easily pulled out by the roots; and still a burning candle was continually applied, until the entire was completely singed away, and the head left totally and miserably blistered!—At Carnew things were carried to still greater lengths; for, independent of burning, whipping, and torture in all shapes, on Friday the 25th of May, *twenty-eight prisoners* were brought out of the place of confinement, and *deliberately shot* in a ball-alley by the yeomen, and a party of the Antrim militia; the infernal deed being sanctioned by the presence of their officers!—Many of the men thus inhumanly butchered, had been confined on mere suspicion!—!—!

LORD Courtown is said to have been for adopting lenient measures, and although it might be reasonably thought that his rank and character ought to have had due influence in the neighbourhood of Gorey, yet his benevolent intentions were overpowered by the disposition to severity, of most of the magistrates; and consequently, the measures of the most violent were adopted. The following is the rev. Mr. Gordon's representation of his lordship's conduct:—"As

the earl of Courtown had performed much in providing a force to obviate or suppress rebellion, so his treatment of the common people, by his affable manners, had been always such as was best adapted to produce content in the lower classes, and prevent a proneness to insurrection. I consider myself as bound in strictness of justice to society, thus far to represent the conduct of this nobleman. Doubtless the people in the neighbourhood of Gorey were the last and least violent of all in the county of Wexford, in rising against the established authority ; and certainly the behaviour of the Stopford family in that neighbourhood has been always remarkably conciliating and humane ?”

ON the night of Thursday the 24th, the Enniscorthy cavalry conducted by Mr. Archibald Hamilton Jacob, had come to Ballaghkeen ; but on hearing the approaching noise, the inhabitants ran out of their houses, and fled into large brakes of furze, on a hill immediatly above the village, from whence they could hear the cries of one of their neighbours, who was dragged out of his house, tied up to a thorn-tree, and while one yeoman continued flogging him, another was throwing water on his back. The groans of the unfortunate sufferer, from the stillness of the night reverberated widely through the appalled neighbourhood ; and the spot of execution, these men represented to have appeared next morning, “ as if a *fug* had been killed there.” After this transaction, Mr. Jacob went round to all the rest of the houses, and signified, that if he should find the owners out of them, on his next visit, he would burn them. These men, whose countenances exhibited marks of real terror, particularly from apprehensions of flogging, which they seemed to dread more than death itself, offered to surrender themselves prisoners to Mr. Turner, who did all in his power to allay their fears, offering to give them all certificates, the production of which, to Mr. Jacob, he was sure, would afford them protection ; but they still persisted in preferring to re-

main as prisoners with Mr. Turner; rather than to place any confidence in Mr. Jacob.

EARLY on this morning, being Whitsunday, I saw Mr. Turner on his entrance into Wexford. He brought the first intelligence of the rising of the people, from whom, he said, he could not have been so fortunate as to escape but for my messenger, who had called him up before day; otherwise he would have been at home when his house was attacked by the multitude for arms, as were all the houses throughout the whole neighbourhood at that time. When he had given notice of the fact to the officer commanding in the barracks, I accompanied him to the goal, and after having seen our friend, set out with him to Castlebridge, where finding the insurrection much more serious than was at first imagined, all kind of parleying being deemed ineffectual, on consultation with the officers present, I returned to Wexford, as they considered my situation would be too perilous should I accompany them in coloured clothes. The Shilmalier cavalry, commanded by colonel Le-Hunte, had already assembled, before the arrival of one hundred and ten of the North Cork militia, who took route by the lower road, along the sea-side, while the yeomen had taken the upper road by Castlebridge.

HAVING halted here for some time, they proceeded three miles farther and came in sight of the insurgents, collected in great numbers on the hill of Oulard, distant about ten miles from Wexford. Colonel Foote of the North Cork, seeing their position so strong and commanding, thought it advisable not to attack them; but major Lombard of the same regiment being of a contrary opinion, orders were given to burn two houses, situated in a hollow, between the army and the insurgents, and Mr. Turner volunteered his service for that purpose. This was done with a view to stimulate the insurgents to revenge, and thus if possible, to induce them to abandon the advantage of their situation. This feint, however, not succeeding, and colonel Foote still persisting in his opinion, major Lombard instantly addressed the soldiers in terms

animating them at once to attack the insurgents, who, he said, would fly at their approach. His words had the effect of making them advance. They descended from the small eminence which they occupied, and crossing the valley between, began to ascend the hill of Oulard, while the Shilmalier cavalry took a circuitous route, round the hill to the left, with the intention of preventing a retreat, but in fact they caused numbers to rally who attempted to run off, on perceiving the approach of a serious engagement. This also contributed to make the insurgents rush in greater numbers, and with accumulated force, on the North Cork, who were charging up the hill. They had fired but two volleys when they were totally discomfited. This success of the insurgents was much promoted by the address of a servant boy, who, as the military were ascending the hill, advised such of the insurgents as were then about him, to lie down under cover of the ditches, and wait the close approach of the military. By this manœuvre these were suddenly surprised by a force not greatly outnumbering themselves, but the impetuosity of the attack occasioned their total overthrow, while the fact was, at the instant, utterly unknown to the great body of the insurgents who attended their commanders at the other side of the hill. Of the North Cork party, major Lombard, the hon. capt. Decourcy, lieutenant Williams, Ware, Barry, and ensign Keogh, were left on the field of battle. In short, none escaped except colonel Foote, a serjeant who mounted the major's horse, a drummer and two privates. It may not be unworthy of remark, that here was a fool who followed the North Cork, and who, when he saw the major fall, ran to the body and embraced it, then took the major's sword and with it dispatched two men before he fell himself. The insurgents had but five men killed, and two wounded. The Shilmalier cavalry, and colonel Foote, made a precipitate retreat to Wexford. A large party of the Wexford cavalry also, who had to share whatever in the action, were involved in this retreat. Having lodged Mr. Colclough in goal, they

set out on another excursion to Ballinmurrin. In their course they shot some straggling men, and burned two houses on finding two men killed near them. They were thus employed in scouring the country when informed of the defeat at Oulard, and this determined them without hesitation to retreat with all speed homewards.

THE great suspense felt by the inhabitants of Wexford, during the whole of this day, on account of so sudden an insurrection, now grew into serious alarm, such as unexpected news like this must inspire. The lamentations of the unfortunate widows and orphans of the soldiers who had fallen in the encounter, increased the general consternation. These, clapping their hands, ran about the streets quite frantic, mixing their piteous moanings with the plaintive cries of their children, and uttering their bitterest maledictions against the yeomen, whom they charged with having run away, and left their husbands to destruction!—Letters were dispatched to Duncannon fort and to Waterford, with these disastrous accounts, and requesting reinforcements.

THOSE of the North Cork militia then in the town, vowed vengeance against the prisoners confined in the goal; particularly against Messrs. Harvey, Fitzgerald, and Colclough, so lately taken up; and so explicitly and without reserve were these intentions manifested, that I myself heard a serjeant and others of the regiment declare, that they could not *die easy* if they should not have the satisfaction of putting the prisoners in the gaol of Wexford to death, particularly the three gentlemen last mentioned. Nor was this monstrous design harboured only by the common soldiers; some of the officers declared the same intentions. I communicated all to the goaler, who informed me that he had himself heard the guards on the goal express their hostile intentions. He was so alarmed and apprehensive of their putting their threats into execution, that he contrived means to get them out, then locked the door, and determined to defend his charge at the risque of his life. He then, with a

humanity and presence of mind, that would have become a better station, communicated his apprehensions to all the prisoners, whom he advised to remain close in their cells, so as to avoid being shot in case of an actual attack. He armed the three gentlemen, and formed so judicious a plan of defence; that in the event of their being overpowered, their lives could not be had at a cheap rate. A number of soldiers went round the goal several times, as if to reconnoitre, and were overheard threatening the prisoners with certain destruction, if they could but get in: and I verily believe that, had it not been for the indefatigable exertions of the goaler, the prisoners would have been all massacred; and dreadful it is to think what consequences must have ensued! The alarms of the three gentlemen already named were so much increased by these circumstances, as well as by other reports, that they made every disposition of their properties, as if on the point of death.

THE rising of the people, in the county of Wexford, took place in the direction from Carnew to Oulard, for fear, as they alleged of being whipped, burned, or exterminated by the orangemen; hearing of the numbers of people that were put to death, unarmed and unoffending, through the country;—the deliberate massacre and shooting of eight and twenty prisoners in the ball-alley of Carnew, without trial, and some under sentence of transportation, who stopped there on their way to Geneva; among these was a Mr. William Young, a protestant, who was ordered to be transported by a military tribunal. At Dunlavin, thirty-four men were shot without trial, and among them the informer on whose evidence they were arrested. Strange to tell, officers presided to sanction these proceedings! A man escaped by feigning to be killed, he was one out of eighteen of the corps of captain Saunders, of Saunders-grove, Baltinglass. These reports, together with all the dreadful accounts from the county of Kildare, roused their minds to the utmost pitch of alarm, indignation and fury. They were forming from the evening of the 26th during

the whole of the night, in two bodies. One assembled on Kiltomas-hill, against whom marched from Carnew, on the morning of the 27th, a body of yeomen cavalry and infantry, who proceeded boldly up the hill, where the insurgents possessed a strong and commanding situation, if they knew how to take advantage of it; but they were panic-struck, and fled at the approach of the military, who pursued them with great slaughter. They spared no man they met, and burned at least one hundred houses in the course of a march of seven miles.

THE Rev. Michael Murphy had been so alarmed on hearing of the rising of the people, that he fled into the town of Gorey early on Whitsunday; on his arrival not finding Mr. Kenny with whom he had lodged there he was induced to return for him and his family, for which purpose not being able to procure a driver, he himself led a horse and car and pursued a bye road, to get, if possible, unobserved into Ballecanow, by which means he did not meet some yeomen and others that had gone on the high-road to Gorey after they had torn up the altar, broken the windows, and otherwise damaged the roman catholic chapel, uttering the most violent threats against the priest and his flock, which specimens were very unlikely to remove the dreadful reports of the intended extermination of the catholics. These depredations had so much weight on the rev. Michael Murphy as to induce him to alter his original intentions not to fly to such men for protection, and he was then led on by the multitude to Kiltomas-hill; the rev. John Murphy had from similar unforeseen occurrences joined the insurgents. These two clergymen had been remarkable for their exhortations and exertions against the system of united Irishmen, until they were thus whirled into this *political vortex*, which, from all the information I have been able to collect, they undertook under the apprehension of extermination.

THE Rev. John Murphy was acting coadjutor of the parish of Monageer, and impressed with horror

at the desolation around him, took up arms with the people, representing to them that they had *better die courageously in the field, than to be butchered in their houses*.—The insurgents in this quarter now began their career, by imitating the example that had been set before them. They commenced burning the houses of those who were most obnoxious to them. Every gentleman's house in the country was summoned to surrender their arms, and where any resistance was offered, the house was attacked, plundered and burnt, and most of the inhabitants killed in the conflict. The Camolin cavalry were the first that attacked these insurgents: in the action lieutenant Bookey and some privates lost their lives. The rest retreated to Gorey. On the 27th of May, captain Hawtrey White, led out two troops of horse from Gorey, determined to revenge the deaths of their companions. They came in sight of the insurgents on the north-side of the hill of Oulard; but they appeared in such force that they thought it not prudent to attack them, but returned to Gorey, burning the houses of suspected persons, and putting every straggler to death on their way. Numbers were called to their doors and shot, while many more met the like fate within their house, and some even that were asleep.

Thus it appears that the insurrection broke out at first, in a line from west to east, pretty nearly across the middle of the county, unsupported by the inhabitants either north or south of that direction. These were the tracts whose natives appeared most peaceably inclined, and who thought to avoid joining in the insurrection. The yeomanry of the north of the county proceeded on the 27th against a quiet and defenceless populace: sallied forth in their neighbourhoods, burned number of houses and put to death hundreds of persons who were unarmed, unoffending and unresisting, so that those who had taken up arms had the greater chance of escape at that time.

On the evening of the 26th, captain John Grogan, perceiving from a height near his house, several houses on fire between Enniscorthy and Oulard, assembled as many of his yemen as he could muster, and proceeded with them to Enniscorthy, whence he accompanied captain Solomon Richards, of the Enniscorthy cavalry, to meet the insurgents, who were committing great devastation throughout the country, in retaliation, as they alleged, for what they had previously suffered. In fact, there seemed to exist between the parties an emulation of enmity, as they endeavoured to outdo each other in mischief, by burning and destroying on both sides those whom they deemed their enemies. The roman catholic chapel of Boolevogue was burnt, as was the house of the Rev. John Murphy, already mentioned; and several houses were set on fire and some of *the inhabitants consumed within them*: no man that was seen in coloured clothes escaped the fury of the yeomanry.

AFTER the battle of Oulard the insurgents encamped for the night at Carrigrew, from whence they set out at seven o'clock on Monday morning, the 28th, to Camolin, from thence to Ferns, where meeting with no interruption, or any military force to oppose them, they crossed the Slaney by the bridge at Scarawalsh, halted for some time on the hill of Balliorril, and from thence they proceeded to attack Enniscorthy, where they arrived about one o'clock, driving before them a great number of cattle with a view of overpowering the yeoman infantry that had proceeded to the Duffrey-gate, where the attack commenced. The assailants posting themselves behind the ditches that enclose the town-parks, kept up a severe but irregular fire of musketry, intermixed with pikemen, who were twice charged by the Enniscorthy cavalry along the two roads leading into the town, with little or no effect. The battle lasted with various success for four hours. Captain Snowe not considering it prudent to quit his situation on the bridge to support the yeomen at the Duffrey-gate, who then fell down by

degrees into the town, leaving the suburbs, composed of thatched houses, unprotected, which then were set fire to, (each party accusing the other for doing so) and as it turned out nothing could be more conducive to the success of the insurgents : during the confusion the conflagrations occasioned, from which each party retreated, the military taking their station in the town : had they marched out to meet the insurgents, and given them battle where they might have the advantage of the ditches ; their superiority in discipline and fire-arms might have enabled them to break and dissipate the tumultuary body opposed to them, that had every advantage over those placed in a hollow. The insurgents made an attempt to cross the river, at the island above the bridge, from whence they were so galled as to oblige them to wade through the Slaney higher up at Blackstoop's ; some were proceeding to Vinegar-hill, which from its commanding situation immediately above the town, gave them every advantage of observation, whilst their numbers afforded a sufficiency to attack the town on all sides. The military were at length overpowered by the impetuosity and intrepidity of the insurgents, many of whom fell in the gallant defence made against them ; but the soldiers having no cannon to support them, and the suburbs of the town being on fire in several places, they at last sounded a retreat. Whilst the town was thus circumstanced, a proposal was made to captain Snowe to put the prisoners to death before the evacuation of the place ; but he, like a truly brave man, would not listen to such a diabolical proposal, and rejected it with scorn and abhorrence ; notwithstanding which a party went to the castle determined to put all confined therein to death. An ineffectual attempt was made to break open the door, the keeper having forgot to leave the key, with which he had set off towards Wexford ; and this circumstance providentially saved the lives of the prisoners, as it became too dangerous for the yeomen to wait any longer to put their threats in execution ; threats

which they constantly repeated the whole of that morning while they stood guard over their prisoners. Indeed, so assured were the prisoners themselves of being put to death, that they had continued for hours on their knees at prayer in preparation for that awful event, when the victors released them from confinement. Captain John Pounden of the Enniscorthy supplementary infantry, lieutenant Hunt of the Enniscorthy yeomen, and lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalsh infantry, with about eighty of the military, and some supplementary men, fell in this action. A regular retreat being sounded gave the military an opportunity of bringing away their families and friends, together with a great many men, women and children, who proceeded in the best manner they could to Wexford. The only opinion prevailing in the latter town, for some hours, was that Enniscorthy and all its inhabitants were totally destroyed. This was occasioned by the arrival in Wexford of lieutenant Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and a private of the Enniscorthy cavalry, who had been so fortunate as to effect their escape, and who came in with their horses all in a foam, so as to bespeak the most precipitate flight. At the same time tremendous clouds of smoke were observed over Enniscorthy, which is distant only eleven miles from Wexford, and no news arriving for several hours, left room for no other conjecture, but seemed to confirm the account given by these fugitives. The military in their retreat were very confused at first, however self-preservation urged their keeping together, suggested by a private in the yeomanry. Officers had been induced to tear off their epaulets and every other mark that could distinguish them from the privates, considering themselves in more danger if they were recognized as officers.—However, not being attacked there was sufficient leisure to escort those that accompanied them, and who were in such a piteous plight as to excite on their arrival the hearty commiseration of all the inhabitants of Wexford, who invited them indiscriminately to

their houses, and supplied them with every comfort and necessary in their power, and of which they stood so much in need. How distressing must be the situation of many ladies who were glad to get up behind or before any person that might be tender enough, in the general consternation, to take them on horseback ! some had their clothes scorched about them, others wanted their shoes and other parts of their dress, which had been lost or torn off ; besides the great heat of the day made it doubly distressing to delicate females, many of whom had the additional charge of the burden and care of their children. It was very deplorable to observe the anguish and misery of these fugitives, so suddenly and violently torn from their homes and family endearments ; while each, in melancholy detail, dwelt upon the relation of private calamity.

GREAT as the apprehensions of the inhabitants of Wexford had been before, they were much heightened by the mournful appearances and heart-rending recitals of these unhappy sufferers. All dreaded that their houses, their properties, and themselves, should share the fate of Enniscorthy and its inhabitants. At this critical period, the Shilmalier infantry, commanded by the right hon. George Ogle, marched from their homes into Wexford. Every possible preparation was now made for defence. The several avenues leading into the town were barricaded, and cannon were placed at the different entrances. The inhabitants universally manifested a zeal to defend their habitations, their properties, and their families against the insurgents ; and numbers offered themselves for the ranks, and to perform military duty. Upwards of two hundred were consequently embodied, there being arms for no more, under the command of gentlemen who had been in the army, and officers of militia then in the town on leave of absence. These occasional soldiers mounted guard in the same manner with the more regular troops of militia and yeomen ; and every precaution was taken to guard

against a nocturnal surprise, which was strongly apprehended.

ON the morning of the 29th, the dispositions for the defence of the town, were continued with unabating vigour. Two hundred men of the Donegal militia, commanded by colonel Maxwell, with a six-pounder, marched in at eight o'clock in the morning, and were billeted throughout the town to get refreshment, of which they stood in great need, having marched all night from Duncannon-fort, accompanied by the Healthfield cavalry, commanded by captain John Grogan. This gentleman having escorted serjeant Stanley to Waterford, returned to Duncannon-fort, where he met general Fawcett, whose determination he now announced, of coming to the assistance of Wexford, with an additional force as soon as possible. With this detachment also arrived colonel Colville, captain Young, and lieutenant Soden, officers of the 13th regiment, giving the glad tidings of the approach of their body with general Fawcett, and the Meath militia. A gentleman was however dispatched to the general, to urge in the most pressing terms, the immediate necessity of the reinforcement. The Taghmon cavalry under the command of captain Cox arrived in town in the course of the day. The apprehensions of the inhabitants increased every moment. Every boat in the harbour was busily employed in the conveyance of women and children, with the most valuable effects, on board ships, which now were in great requisition, occasioned by the vast numbers of people who crowded these vessels, in order to escape from the town, which, it was dreaded, would be burnt. To guard against such a disastrous event, all the fires in the town were strictly ordered to be put out at different intervals; and during the prohibited time, even the bakers were not allowed to heat their ovens. A further measure of precaution adopted on this occasion, was that of stripping all the thatched houses within the walls of the town, which last, by the bye, were still standing in full preserva-

tion except the gate-ways, that had been long broken down for public convenience, but were now strongly barricaded. In short, the utmost activity prevailed for purposes of defence. The guards were augmented, and patrols of cavalry were constantly sent out to reconnoitre. The widows of those of the North Cork militia, who had fallen in the action of Oulard, still continued inconsolable about the town, uttering their piteous lamentations. The bodies of the officers who were slain on that occasion, were this day brought in by major Lombard's servant, who had gone out for that purpose; and this contributed not a little to dispirit the military in the town.

SOME of my friends, then in Wexford, intimated to me, that it seemed to be the general wish of all the gentlemen in the place, that I should go out to the people, and endeavour to induce them to disperse, my great popularity and family influence, it was suggested, pointing me out as the fittest person to undertake such a mission; which, from these circumstances, it was hoped, might prove successful. My answer was, that I would not refuse to do any thing that was imagined to be for the general good, although I thought the experiment most hazardous, provided a magistrate whose honour might be depended on, would accompany me; besides, that I should have my directions in writing, a copy whereof I would leave with my friends, in order, that if I should fall in the enterprise, nothing might be left in the power of misrepresentation to state to my dishonour. No magistrate being found, as I suppose, that would venture on this dangerous service, it was then enquired whether the liberation of Messrs. Harvey. Fitzgerald, and Colclough, might not appease the people? On this question, I declared myself incompetent to decide. I was then asked, whether if engaged on bail, but particularly Mr. Fitzgerald, whose residence lay in the country then disturbed, would undertake to go out to the insurgents and endeavour to prevail on them to disperse? On this enquiry my

opinion was, that as the lives of these gentlemen were in danger from the fury of the soldiery, while they continued in prison, I thought they would comply with this requisition. On the 28th and 29th, I had many conversations on this subject, with the officers and gentlemen of the place, and at length, I was myself, together with five other gentlemen, (two for each of the three prisoners,) bound in five hundred pounds severally; and Messrs. Harvey, Fitzgerald, and Colclough themselves, individually in one thousand pounds security for their appearance at the next assizes. It was further conditioned, that although they were all three bailed, two only should be at large at any one time.

THE entire military force at this time in Wexford consisted of three hundred of the North Cork militia, commanded by colonel Foote: two hundred of the Donegal militia, under the direction of colonel Maxwell; five troops of yeomen cavalry, viz. those of Wexford, commanded by captain Boyd; the Enniscorthy, by captain Richards; the Taghmon, by captain Cox; the Healthfield, by captain John Grogan; and the Shilmalier, by colonel Lehunte: the infantry yeomen were those of Wexford, under captain Jacob, M. D.; the Enniscorthy, under captain Pounden; the Scarawalsh, under captain Cornock; and the Shilmalier, under the right hon. George Ogle, with their supplementary men, altogether as many as their original number, and two hundred of the townsmen, amounting on the whole to twelve hundred men under arms; who, as the town wall was in good condition, might defy as many thousand assailants, not supported by a great superiority of ordnance.

THE insurgents, after having taken Enniscorthy on the 28th, encamped that evening on Vinegar-hill. Several parties were dispatched from thence, during the night, to bring in all the respectable persons remaining in the county, with menaces of death in case of refusal; their recent successes having rendered them altogether imperious. One party was particu-

larly directed to Newcastle for Mr. John Hay, in whose professional talents they placed great confidence, as he had been an officer in the French service. On being summoned out of his bed to come to camp, he endeavoured to expostulate, but all in vain; and at last, he absolutely refused going, notwithstanding the most violent threats uttered against him. At length, however, menaces proceeded to such extremity, that his house should be set on fire, and he and his family consumed within it; and preparations were instantly making to put their threats in actual execution, when turning with looks of anguish and despair towards his wife and daughter, whom he loved most passionately, with the tenderest emotions he surrendered his judgment for their safety, and was led to Vinegar-hill, where he met several who had been summoned thither out of their beds as unexpectedly as himself; for as the military had abandoned the whole country, the insurgents, who were now the generality of the people, had every one who remained, under uncontrollable command. Mr. John Hay, finding upon enquiry, that the multitude had no ammunition, no warlike stores, nor any degree of preparation, strongly remonstrated on their defenceless situation, representing that they could not possibly stand against a regularly appointed military force, as any soldiery knowing their duty, must cut them to pieces. Various and confused were the consultations that ensued in this tumultuous assemblage. It was at once proposed, by different persons to attack Ross, Newtown-Barry, and Gorey, as each lay more contiguous to their several homes, for Wexford was then considered too formidable to be at all attempted. In fine, each individual dreaded the devastation of his house or his property; most of the multitude was dispersed and on the way to their several homes, in all directions from Vinegar-hill, when some of them met Messrs. Fitzgerald and Colclough, (whose arrests were publicly known,) near the village of St. John's, and finding them liberated and sent out to them, they were immediately welcomed by a gene-

ral shout, which communicating from one to another, like electricity, it was re-echoed all the way to Ennis-corthy, and so on to the top of Vinegar-hill, and thence through all the country round. The reverberation of the shouts thus widely diffused, arrested the attention of the astonished multitude, who instantly returned to discover the cause of such sudden exultation; so that when the deputed gentlemen arrived on Vinegar-hill, the camp, so deserted but a moment before, now became as thronged as ever. This inclination of each man, and every body of men, to return home, and apply the general force to the correction of their individual sufferings, would furnish a strong proof of the fact; as otherwise the idea of some general system, however confused, would be floating in their imagination, and it is the confirmed opinion of most impartial people, that I have heard discuss the subject, that the insurrection in the county of Wexford must have subsided at that period, but for this intelligence extraordinary from the town by the deputation of the prisoners, who of necessity informed the people, that they had been liberated, and sent out for the express purpose of remonstrating with them; for this served only to concentrate their wavering opinions, and to point to some object their previously fluctuating determinations. It was but the resolution of a moment to march in a body to attack Wexford. Mr. Fitzgerald they detained in the camp, and Mr. Colclough they sent back to announce their hostile intentions.

If any thing could add to the general consternation in Wexford, it was to learn the determination of the insurgents to come to attack the town. Ships became in greater requisition than ever, and all the vessels in the harbour were stowed with amazing numbers, the streets were quite deserted, and the shops and lower windows of all the houses were shut up. Late in the evening as two of the Taghmon yeomanry were going home, and had proceeded as far as Areandrish, about four miles from Wexford, they

descried the advanced guard of the insurgents ; with which intelligence they immediately posted back with all speed to the town, which was already in expectation of being attacked every instant. Every degree of vigilance and precaution was now exerted and the military kept on the alert all night. The portcullis on the remarkable wooden-bridge, over the Slaney, was hoisted, whereby the greatest part of it was left defenceless, while one piece of cannon would have perfectly protected the whole. The cries of the women and children throughout the town were so dismal and alarming as to rouse the military from their beds, when they had scarcely time to have fallen asleep, since they had retired from their several posts, to which they were thus summoned back in a hurry to repel the attack of an enemy, which was every moment expected. The insurgents were now encamped on the Three-rocks, the end of the low ridge of the mountain of Forth, about three miles from Wexford, and did not seem so willing to advance as was apprehended in the town.

GENERAL FAWCETT having ordered his forces to follow, set out alone from Duncannon-fort on the evening of the 29th, and stopped at Taghmon, where he lay down to rest until his advanced-guard should arrive. Captain Adams of the Meath militia, with seventy men of his regiment, and lieutenant Birch of the artillery, with two howitzers, arrived from Duncannon-fort in the course of the night, at Taghmon, where not finding, as they expected, the 13th regiment, or Meath militia, and not knowing any thing about the General, after a short halt they marched on towards Wexford, apprehending no kind of interruption. They had already ascended the road along the side of the mountain of Forth, when perceived by the out posts of the insurgents, who poured down with such rapidity, that they were in a few minutes cut off, except ensign Wade and sixteen privates who were taken prisoners. The magazine was blown up in the conflict, which circumstance rendered the how-

itzers not so great a prize as they otherwise would have been to the victors. General Fawcett, on getting out of bed, having learned the fate of his advanced guard, ordered the 13th and the rest of the troops, who had, by this time, come up, to retreat to Duncannon-fort, whither he also set off in great haste himself.

FROM Wexford, in the course of the morning, vast crowds of people were observed assembling on the high ground, over Ferry-bank, at the country side of the wooden-bridge, which contributed not a little to heighten the alarm already prevailing in the town. The different posts on the town-wall were guarded with the utmost vigilance, and entrusted to the protection of the yeomen infantry, supplementaries, and armed inhabitants, while the North Cork militia undertook to defend the barracks. It was expected that general Fawcett, now supposed on his march from Taghmon to Wexford, must fall in with the insurgents, and thus keep them so well employed on that side as to afford a favourable opportunity for a sally from the town to attack them on the other. It was therefore resolved to try the success of this manœuvre, and accordingly colonel Maxwell, with two hundred of the Donegal militia, and colonel Watson, with the Wexford, Enniscorthy, Taghmon, Healthfield, and Shilmalier yeomen cavalry, marched out to the encounter. They had advanced as far as Belmont, when colonel Watson, eager to reconnoitre, proceeded up the hill, farther than prudence would permit, and was shot from one of the out-posts of the insurgents. The Donegal militia then retreated to Wexford, preceded by the cavalry, who pressed upon them very much along the road. Immediately after this a hasty council of war was held, at which it was determined to evacuate the town.

A general and gloomy consternation now prevailed; every countenance appeared clouded and distrustful, and every person was cautious and circumspect how he spoke or acted, as all confidence was entirely

gone away, and each individual thought only of his own personal safety. Some yeomen and supplementaries who, during the whole of the morning, had been stationed in the street opposite the goal, were heard continually to threaten to put all the prisoners to death; which so roused the attention of the goaler to protect his charge, that he barricaded the door; and on hearing of a surrender, to manifest more strongly the sincerity of his intentions, he delivered up the key to Mr. Harvey. This gentleman was, indeed, so apprehensive of violence, that he had climbed up inside a chimney. When he had arranged his apparel, and adjusted himself so as to put off the appearance of a chimney-sweeper, about two hours before the troops retreated from Wexford, Right hon. George Ogle, captain of the Shilmalier infantry, Cornelius Grogan, John Grogan, captain of the Healthfield cavalry, James Boyd, captain of the Wexford cavalry, Solomon Richards, captain of the Enniscorthy cavalry, Isaac Cornock, captain of the Scarawalsh infantry, and Edward Turner of the Shilmalier cavalry, all magistrates, along with lieutenant-colonel Colville of the 13th regiment of foot, and lieutenant-colonel Foote of the North Cork militia, visited Mr. Harvey in the goal, and, at their express request, he wrote the following notice to the insurgents on the mountain of Forth:

“ I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend to christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare your prisoners’ lives.

“ B. B. HARVEY.

“ Wednesday, 30th May, 1798.”

THIS note was undertaken to be forwarded by ——— Doyle, a yeoman of the Healthfield cavalry, who offered to volunteer on this hazardous service, when the proposal was made to his corps by captain John Grogan. He had the precaution to put off his uni-

form, and to dress himself in coloured clothes ; but when ready to set off he was discovered to be a roman catholic, and therefore reflected upon, for so the whisper went about, '*how could a papist be trusted?*'—The yeoman finding his zeal met with a reception so contrary to his expectation, again put on his uniform and retreated with his captain ; thus proving himself to the full as loyal as any of those who on the occasion displayed their illiberality, which even common policy, it might be well imagined, should repress at so critical a juncture. Doctor Jacob then proposed the enterprize to his corps, and counsellor Richards with his brother Mr. Loftus Richards, were appointed to go to the Three-rocks on this expedition, to announce the surrender of the town to the insurgents, whose camp they reached in safety, though clad in full uniform.—Scarcely had these deputies set out upon their mission, when all the military corps, a part of one only excepted, made the best of their way out of town. Every individual of them seemed to partake of a general panic, and set off whithersoever they imagined they could find safety, without even acquainting their neighbours on duty of their intentions. The principal inhabitants whose services had been accepted of for the defence of the town were mostly catholics, and, according to the prevalent system, were subject to the greatest insults and reflexions. They were always placed in front of the posts and cautioned to behave well, or that death should be the consequence. Accordingly persons were placed behind them to keep them to their duty, and these were so watchful of their charge, that they would not even permit them to turn about their heads, and yet these determined heroes were the very first to run off on the apprehended approach of real danger. Thus were the armed inhabitants left at their posts, abandoned by their officers, and actually ignorant of the flight of the soldiery, until the latter had been miles out of the town, and were therefore left no possible means of retreating. Lieutenant William Hughes of the Wexford infantry, with a few

of his corps, was, it seems, the only part of the military, left uniformed of the intended retreat, and this was owing to his being detached with these few yeomen to defend a distant part of the town-wall, and he and they were apprized of their situation, as were also the armed inhabitants, only by the approach of the insurgents; so that Mr. Hughes and his few yeomen, together with the armed inhabitants, are the only people that can be said not to have abandoned their posts in Wexford on this occasion. The confusion and dismay, which prevailed, was so great, as no kind of signal for retreat had been given, that officers and privates ran promiscuously through the town, threw off their uniforms, and hid themselves wherever they thought they could be best concealed. Some ran to the different quays, in expectation of finding boats to convey them off, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water. All such as could accomplish it embarked on board the vessels in the harbour, having previously turned their horses loose. Some ran to the goal to put themselves under the protection of Mr. Harvey. Officers, magistrates, and yeomen of every description thus severally endeavoured to escape popular vengeance; and in the contrivance of changing apparel, as there was not a sufficiency of men's clothes at hand for all those who sought safety by this means, female attire was substituted for the purpose of disguise. In short, it is impossible that a greater appearance of confusion, tumult or panic could be at all exhibited. The North Cork regiment on quitting the barracks set them on fire, which, however, was immediately put out. Lieutenants Bowen and Paye, with ensign Harman, and some serjeants and privates of this regiment remained in the town.

It has been already observed, that thousands of people were seen to assemble, during the entire morning, on a hill over Ferry-bank, marching and countermarching in hostile appearance, and seemingly waiting only for the moment that the town would be abandoned by the military, to take possession of it

themselves ; but their entrance, when this took place was retarded, until boards were procured to supply the place of the flooring of the wooden-bridge, where it had been burnt. In the mean-time, Messrs. Richards, after having run great risque, arrived at the camp at Three-rocks, and making known that they were deputed to inform the people, that the town of Wexford would be surrendered to them, on condition of sparing lives and properties ; these terms would not be complied with, unless the arms and ammunition of the garrison were also surrendered. Mr. Loftus Richards was therefore detained as a hostage, and counsellor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent back to the town, to settle, and arrange the articles of capitulation ; but these gentlemen on their arrival, to their great astonishment, found the place abandoned by the military. The bridge being at this time nearly made passable, the vast concourse of people that had collected at the other side of the Slaney, was just ready to pour in and take unconditional possession of the town. It was therefore necessary to treat with these, (it being yet unknown who they were,) in order to prevent the mischiefs likely to ensue from such a tumultuary influx of people. They first proceeded to the goal, released all the prisoners, and insisted that Mr. Harvey should become their commander. All the houses in town not abandoned by the inhabitants, now became decorated with green boughs, or green ornaments of one description or another. The doors were universally thrown open, and the most liberal offers made of spirits and drink of every kind, which however were not as freely accepted, until the persons offering had first drank themselves, as a proof that the liquor was not poisoned, a report having prevailed to that effect ; and which was productive of this good consequence, that it prevented rapid intoxication, and of course, in the beginning, lamentable excesses.

THE insurgents having now got compleat possession of the town of Wexford, many persons who had been yeomen, after having thrown off their uniforms,

affected a cordial welcome for them, and endeavoured, by an exhibition of all the signs and emblems of the united Irismen, to convince them of their *sworn* friendship; and it is indeed not a little remarkable, that many of those who, in this change of affairs, boldly marched out, as occasion demanded, to meet the king's forces, now display themselves as staunch brangemen of unimpeachable loyalty. Almost every person in the town threw open their doors with offers of refreshment and accommodation to the insurgents; and the few, who did not, suffered by plunder, their substance being considered as enemy's property.

AFTER various scenes of disorder, hurry and confusion, naturally attendant on such occasions, parties were dispatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms and ammunition they could find in the ships, and other vessels in the harbour, which in the morning had fallen down towards the bar, neither wind or tide being favourable; two only out of the whole had actually sailed for Wales. By these means all the men, as well yeomen as other inhabitants, were directly brought on shore in the evening, and the vessels with the women and children immediately followed to the quay.

AMIDST this scene of tumult and confusion, not easily conceivable to any one who has not witnessed popular commotion, while all wished to accommodate themselves as much as possible to the exigency of the moment, and to appear the friends of their newly-denominated conquerors, it was ludicrous to observe a gorgeous military uniform, clandestinely changed for loathsome, tattered rags, with more address and expedition than actors on the dramatic stage assume different dresses and appearances.

AMONG those brought on shore from the ships, was Mr. John Boyd, brother to captain James Boyd of the Wexford Cavalry. He was immediately recognised, and he and his family being obnoxious to the people, he ran off on landing, was chased, over-taken, piked and left for dead, but he lived in excru-

ciating agony until the next morning, when he expired. I had been brought out of one of the ships myself, and, on landing, was proceeding through the general confusion, when arriving near the bull-ring, a man of the name of George Sparrow, a butcher from Enniscorthy, chased by the people through the streets, ran up to me and clasped me round the body, imploring protection—beseeching I might save him. I instantly endeavoured as much as in my power to give him succour, and to defend him by extending my arms and body over him, while swords and pikes were pointed and brandished for his destruction; but my endeavours proving ineffectual, and rather dangerous to myself, and the unfortunate man perceiving I could not afford the protection I intended, burst from me, and while I lay prostrate in the street, occasioned by his effort to get off, he had not ran many yards when he was deprived of existence. Some ladies, who were so situated at the instant, as to be spectators of the scene, have since assured me, they thought I had been also killed at that moment; and considering the dreadful circumstances, I think it most providential that when thrown down, I was not regarded as the devoted victim by the infuriate populace. To describe my feelings on this occasion, would be utterly impossible. Ushered into the town against my will to witness, in the first onset, such a specimen of popular vengeance, and naturally imagining that acts of the like violence were perpetrating in every quarter of the town, I could have but little expectation of escape; particularly when the dreadful denunciations resounded in my ears, that the people would put every one to death who would dare to decline joining them; and indeed, in consequence of this menacing cry, many gentlemen who boast of loyal acts, (the very contrary of truth,) I have observed to have gone farther on the opposite side, than could be considered, either since or before, consistent with their honour or their safety.

THE town of Wexford was not only most shamefully abandoned, but even surrendered, to all intents and purposes, when it might have been easily defended, although no one will now acknowledge having been concerned in so scandalous a transaction; and notwithstanding that the very persons who ought to have been its most strenuous protectors, from their situation and circumstances, were not only the first to yield it and fly so clandestinely, as to put it utterly out of the power of all others besides themselves to retreat; but left even their own wives and families to the mercy of an irritated and ungovernable multitude. In any other country, such a manifest dereliction of duty would be punished in the most exemplary manner, the lives of such craven deserters would be forfeited for the miseries they occasioned; but in ill-fated Ireland, a display of unprincipled enmity and illiberal animosity to the great bulk of its people, constitutes loyalty and desert sufficient to wipe away the blame of misconduct, and even to obliterate the indelible stigma of cowardice. The conduct of the inhabitants of Wexford, in accommodating themselves to the circumstances of the moment, after their abandonment, must be considered as totally blameless; particularly of such as subsequently took the earliest opportunity of returning to their allegiance. Of all laws, that of self-preservation is acknowledged the most imperious, and to attain this in times of civil commotion, compliance with the exigencies of the instant is indispensable, and warranted by the irresistible force of necessity; for otherwise, as all moral writers agree, there would be an end of justice and civilization. Allowances have certainly been made for numbers, whose conduct, in an abstracted point of view, was evidently treasonable, but perfectly excuseable, considering the situation in which they were placed, by the fundamental laws of all nations of regulated society. But why an exculpation should hold good for some individuals, and not for all those in a similar predicament, is a para-

dox not happily explained by arguments derived from the sources of bigotry and religious prejudice. With cordial satisfaction I acknowledge it perfectly just, that protestants have been generally exculpated of treason, on the ground of the urgency of circumstances, but why catholics should be excluded from the like charitable consideration, will not be fairly or easily answered by those who would fain exhibit the unfortunate contest of this period, a war of religion, which, upon the whole, had but very little to do in it, till forced into action by the upholders of prejudice.

THOSE of the military who first retreated from Wexford, were part of the North Cork regiment commanded by captain Snowe, and the Scarawalsh infantry under captain Cornock. These, in their flight, met Mr. Colclough with his lady in a phaeton coming to release Mr. Harvey, by taking his place in the goal, according to his promise the preceding evening. On falling in with the troops, Mr. and Mrs. Colclough were ordered to wheel about, and led along, while swords drawn and pistols cocked, threatened their lives on either side, if the people should attempt to attack the military. Mr. Colclough was frequently ordered to stand up and wave his hat to several groupes, who were seen collected on the rising grounds, led by curiosity, from the disturbed state of the country, to observe what was going forward. These signals were for the people not to approach, with which they complied, and so the parties got safe to the Scar at Barrys town, where Mr. Colclough and his lady were dismissed without further violence. The next division of the military, who made the appearance at the Scar, were part of the Wexford cavalry under captain Boyd, who had himself, seems, at first attempted to get off by sea, but notwithstanding that, he most pathetically entreated a friend of his, who had just put off in a boat only a few yards from the quay, to return and take him aboard, yet so strongly did the motive of self-preservation

tion operate upon the person, that he refused to comply. The captain then seized upon his horse, which he had before turned loose, mounted directly, and overtook colonel Maxwell on the road, with whom however he did not continue; but drove forward with all speed, till he arrived at Mr. King's of Barrys-town. After getting some refreshment here, he and some favourites of his corps embarked on board a boat, the tide being too high to pass otherwise, and so proceeded in safety to Duncannon-fort. Mr. Colclough met several of these flying gentry at Barrys-town, and the impression of their fears was such, that they all declared that a revolution must inevitably succeed in the nation, for that as the rising was general, (so they then supposed it to be) nothing could withstand the people.—They even congratulated Mr. Colclough on the happiness of not being obliged to quit his country, as he had taken no active part against the people, and as his recent confinement, on suspicion of being their friend, was greatly in his favour. They next pathetically, many of them in sobs and tears, lamented the unfortunate necessity under which they lay of quitting their native land, as they feared the people would consider their former exertions so inimical to their interests, as to render it unsafe for them to remain in the country; and after this they took a cordial leave of Mr. Colclough. The escape of Archibald Hamilton Jacob was most wonderful, as when he had gone out with the troops that advanced towards the Three-rocks, before any others had thoughts of retreating, he got off under the mountain, and by keeping bye-roads, he most providentially arrived in Ross, where considering the state of the country he did not stop, but hastened to Waterford, and was finally induced to sail for England.

GREAT numbers of people, from motives of curiosity, assembled in different groupes to view the military in their passage through the country, not imagining that they should be any more molested than they had been by the first parties who passed them

quietly by ; and had any general orders to this effect been issued to the retreating troops, it is probable they would have been attended to and productive of good effect ; but although colonel Colville did all in his power to prevent the soldiery from firing on the people, yet his humane and wise remonstrances were not successful. The first victims of military fury, however, on the retreat, were two men found, with arms, in a house in Wexford, near where the Shilmalier yeomen infantry, commanded by the right hon. George Ogle, had been stationed in the town. These upon the evacuation were brought away by the corps and shot at Maglass, where the soldiers, giving a loose to their rage, pursued the unoffending populace, and shot numbers of them, who endeavoured to conceal themselves in the ditches which were well searched for their discovery. The roman catholic chapel of Maglass was set on fire, as were a great many other houses in the course of their march, while others were plundered ; and not a countryman that was seen and overtaken could escape being sacrificed to military vengeance : nay, not unfrequently did neither feminine weakness nor helpless infancy afford protection, as they obtained, in several instances, no mercy from the indiscriminate fury of the retreating troops, who immolated some of the women and children of the affrighted peasantry, as they fell in their way. These acts of unprovoked, cold-blooded, and unmanly cruelty, were avenged on the poor stragglers, who were, by any casualty, separated from the retreating body, as the exasperated country people, goaded as they had been, considered every person in a military garb as a sanguinary and relentless enemy. Several soldiers who had been followed by their wives and children, were induced to stay behind to afford them assistance on so distressing a march.

ON the night of the 30th, the town of Wexford, considering all that had happened, was remarkably quiet, all finding repose necessary, after their various hard-

ships. In the evening vast numbers went to visit their several dwellings in the country, to be informed of the condition of their families and properties; but very early on the morning of the 31st, the streets were as crowded as before, and the confusion and plunder of the day preceding now recommenced. The people were much discontented with the inhabitants for not detaining for their use, the arms and ammunition of the garrison; as the entire of their military stores at this time amounted to no more than three barrels of gun-powder found in the barracks, a few hundreds of cartridges, with some odd casks and pounds of powder found in shops and gentlemens' houses. The insurgents were induced to move out of the town and encamp on the Windmill-hills, where after much confused consultation they divided into two bodies, one of which, consisting of those who inhabited the Wexford-side of the Slaney, marched to Taghmon. As in such a mixed multitude there must be many of all dispositions, it is not wonderful that there were some who would incite to and practise outrage. Some of this description of persons hunted for orangemen, whom they denominated their enemies; while others, imitating the conduct of the military on the day before, but in a far less degree, plundered private property, burnt the houses of four respectable farmers, and put one man to death on their way to Taghmon, outside of which town they encamped for that night. The encampment on Vinegar-hill, by the bye, continued a permanent one during the whole period of the insurrection.

Now, that the insurrection of the county of Wexford was at its height, there existed no kind of subordination or controul; individuals assumed the privilege of indulging their own dispositions, and of gratifying private malice. On this very day Mr. Harvey, who had been released from confinement by the people, as soon as they took possession of the town, and was by them appointed, whether he would or no, their commander in chief, had engaged several gentlemen,

among whom there were many apprehensive of popular violence, to an entertainment at his former lodgings, which he had then resumed ; and all these he naturally supposed under effectual protection with him, from the nature of his appointment, against all popular outrage ;—but he soon had lamentable proof how groundless were his fond expectations. In the evening soon after dinner, a great mob of country people assembled in the street before the house, some of whom knocked violently at the door, and insited that Mr. Turner, whom they knew to be within, should be delivered up to them, *to be put to death*, for having burned some of their houses. I was one of those invited by Mr. Harvey, and, as Mr. Turner was a most particular friend of mine, I instantly went out, and was, as I fondly imagined, so far successful as to prevail on the populace to retire ; but to my great mortification they returned shortly after, and insisted with redoubled violence, on Mr. Turner's being brought out to them. Mr. Fitzgerald who had now come to my assistance, and myself, urged every argument that friendship could suggest, to dissuade them from their dreadful purpose, and Mr. Harvey also interposed for the same intent, by which means the multitude was once more induced to retire. It was but for a short time however, as they quickly came back to the house with more violence and fury than before ; a shot was fired at the door, as the first notice of their approach, and they reiterated their demand with the loudest and most desperate vociferations. Some of the gentlemen, who on that day dined with Mr. Harvey, now came out, and all their united entreaties and remonstrances could obtain from the enraged multitude was, that Mr. Turner might be lodged in the goal to abide his trial, but the demagogues denounced that if he was not sent thither directly, Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Hay (meaning myself,) must forfeit their lives.

THESE outrages determined many to surrender themselves, in order to be sent to goal, in hopes of greater security, as well as it induced others to re-

main in confinement, from similar expectancy of protection from the resentment of their neighbours. From considerations of this nature, Mr. Harvey, constrained as he was to conduct Mr. Turner to the goal, released from thence every other person not violently accused, and the number was considerable whom he thought to be obnoxious to, but by these means secure from the intemperate vengeance of the people.

AFTER the insurgents, as has been related, moved off in two separate divisions from Wexford, there still remained several of their number in the town, who assumed the office of supplying the camps with necessaries, and this, by their own authority, they declared must be done from Wexford. These self-created commissaries, having put all necessaries accordingly in requisition, began to search all the houses; and in the course of such survey, plundered them of every article they thought proper, asserting that all they took away was for the general service. As whiskey and leather were the articles most in demand in the camps, distillers and tanners especially entreated the committee to issue regular orders for the supplies from their stores, to prevent as much as possible the total destruction of their substance and concerns; adding, that they were very willing to give up their whole stock for the general service; yet strange as it may appear, some of this description of persons were most forward afterward in prosecuting those very men, who, by their humane interference, were instrumental in saving their lives and properties; and, what may not appear unworthy of observation, although chosen by the inhabitants at large from among themselves, there was but one united Irishman among them, which could not be the case, had the people been generally sworn.

CAPTAIN KEUGH was appointed military commander of the town, which was now divided into wards, each of which had a company of men, armed with guns and pikes as they could procure them, and these appointed their own officers. There was a regular

parade morning and evening on the custom-house-quay; guards were struck off and relieved, and a pass-word and counter-sign regularly given out. The insurrection had, by this time, become so general in all parts of the county, forsaken by the military, that even the inhabitants of the baronies of Forth and Bargy, thought it incumbent on them to shew their disposition and to appear in Wexford;—in short, every person remaining in the county, thought it best at this period to come forward and make common cause with the insurgents. The inhabitants of the last mentioned baronies, however, being a race of men of peaceable and industrious habits, and not having experienced the persecutions practised in other districts, were not easily excited to commit those acts of outrage which took place in other quarters; but they were at length terribly alarmed and roused to resistance, by the cruel and merciless conduct of the military in their flight from Wexford; but even then their determination of vengeance appeared solely directed against the body whose unprovoked fury had affected them with injury. These people, on their march to Wexford, halted near Johns-town, the seat of Cornelius Grogan, Esq. for whom a party was dispatched to bring him out and oblige him to join them; and thus this aged gentleman was constrained to accommodate himself to the crazy temper of the times, and being placed on horse-back, then ill of the gout, he was conducted along by the multitude, consisting of several thousands on foot, and many hundreds of horsemen. On their entrance into the town, and defiling through the streets, not many pikes could be seen, but vast numbers were equipt with spits, pitch-forks, and such like offensive weapons, with which they endeavoured as much as in their power, to imitate and assume the appearance of pikemen; and after having shouted and paraded for some time through the streets, they retired peaceably to their homes, without committing further outrage. All the forges both in town and country were instantly em-

employed in the fabrication of pike-blades, and timber of every description fit for handles was procured for that purpose wherever to be found ; so that in a very short time, no person could be seen, (so general was the principle of affectation of arming,) without a war-like weapon of some kind, a green cockade, a hat-band, sash, or other ornament of that colour. Four oyster-boats were fitted out in the harbour, and manned with five and twenty men each, to cruise outside the bay ; and these, from time to time, brought in several vessels, mostly bound for Dublin, laden with oats, potatoes, and different other kinds of provisions ; which became very seasonable supplies for the town, that must otherwise have suffered great distress, as the markets were deserted by the country people.

MONEY seemed to have vanished during the insurrection, as no person was willing to admit being possessed of any currency exclusive of bank-notes, which were held in such little estimation, that great quantities of them were inconsiderately destroyed ; some in lighting tobacco pipes, and others used as waddings for fire-locks ; but whatever little provisions appeared at market, sold very cheaply for ready money ; for instance, butter sold by the pound for two pence, and butchers' meat, of any kind, for one penny. - As to bank-notes, any one might starve who had no other means of procuring the prime necessities, for which, when offered for sale, nothing but specie would be accepted as payment.

IN the country the people formed themselves generally into parish divisions, and each division elected its own officers. All persons capable of carrying arms were to attend the camps, on being furnished with pikes or guns, as either could be best procured ; some on foot and others on horseback, as they could best accommodate themselves. Most persons were desirous to wear ornaments of some kind or other, and accordingly decorated themselves in the most fantastical manner with feathers, tippets, handkerchiefs, and all the shewy parts of ladies' apparel : green was

the most favourite and predominant colour, but on failure of this, decorations of almost any other colour were substituted; and as to their flags or ensigns, they were also generally green or of a greenish hue, but on account of a deficiency in this respect, they displayed banners of all colours except orange, to which the people shewed the most unalterable dislike, aversion and antipathy:—even blue, black, red and yellow, were remarked among their banners. Many damsels made an offering of their coloured petticoats for the public service, and to make these gifts the more acceptable, they usually decorated them according to their different fancies, and from the variety thus exhibited, there appeared not two similar banners in the whole. Several loyal ladies too, both in town and country, displayed their taste in richly and fancifully ornamenting ensigns, to ingratiate themselves with the people; but many of them, not having time to perfect their *chef d'œuvres* before the insurrection was suppressed, have since thought it prudent, I suppose, to destroy these and the like specimens of elegant accomplishment, at which I had opportunities of observing them earnestly employed, during the short-lived period of popular triumph. But now we must return to events which occurred in other parts of the country.

AFTER the battle of Oulard which was fought on the 27th of May, as already detailed, the yeomanry distinguished themselves in the northern part of the county by falling on the defenceless and unoffending populace, of whom they slew some hundreds. It being Whitsunday, the people were, as usual, going to their chapels to attend divine service, when many of them were led by curiosity, which is generally excited by the report of fire-arms, to ascend different eminences, from which the dreadful and horrid scenes of devastation by fire and sword, prevailing through the country round, as far as the eye could reach, was presented to their astonished and affrighted view;

and as the different groupes thus collected were perceived by the yeomanry, these pursued and cut them down.

GREAT numbers of people, taking their families and such of their effects as they could conveniently transport thither along with them, fled for refuge into Gorey, where a general panic however prevailed, although besides the yeomanry of the town, a part of the North Cork militia, under the command of lieutenant Swayne, together with the Ballaghkeen, Coolgreeny, Arklow, Northshire, and Coolatin corps of yeomen cavalry; the Tinnahely and Wingfield corps of yeoman infantry; and a company of the Antrim militia, commanded by lieutenant Elliot, were stationed there; but notwithstanding, on a rumour that the insurgents were approaching, it was determined to abandon the town, and proceed to Arklow; but previous to its evacuation, eleven men taken out of their beds, within a mile's distance, were brought in and shot in the streets, where they were left for dead; but six of them recovered.

On the morning of the 1st of June, an independent, or self-constituted body of insurgents, unknown to any of the three general encampments of Vinegar-hill, Taghmon, and Carrigrew, proceeded on a secret expedition to Newtown-barry (anciently called Bunclody) garrisoned by the King's county militia, commanded by col. Lestrangle, and the corps of yeomen cavalry and infantry belonging to the place. These insurgents having divided into two parties, made their attack on both sides of the Slaney, on the western bank whereof lies the town, and of this they were soon left in possession by the retreat of the military; but they instantly proceeded to plunder, particularly whiskey, of which they drank very freely, and being thus regardless of the advantage they obtained, they afforded the military, whom they did not attempt to pursue, time to rally and return upon them while in this disorderly state, so as to oblige them to fly with some loss and precipitation.

ON this day also, a party of insurgents from Vinegar-hill, proceeded to join those encamped at Carrigrew, whose numbers were greatly lessened by desertions for home. They were now however mustering pretty strongly all over the country, intending to assemble their collective force on the hill of Ballymenane; but while moving forward in a detached and disorderly manner, they were met by a force from Gorey, under the command of lieutenant Elliot, consisting of parties of the Antrim and North Cork militia, above fifty yeomen infantry, and three troops of yeomen cavalry. These, by preserving their order, had great advantage in this unexpected rencounter, over the insurgents, who retreated with some loss and in disorder; leaving behind a great number of horses which were brought into Gorey, together with the plunder of many houses, which were burnt after despoiling; among the rest, that of Mr. Kenny, a tanner and shop-keeper, confidently asserted to be a loyal man: his character however did not protect him, for he was shot in his own garden, and so fell a victim to the angry indiscriminating spirit of the times, like many other innocent persons. This is very strongly exemplified by a transaction mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Gordon as follows. "A small occurrence after the battle, of which a son of mine was a witness, may help to illustrate the state of the country at that time:—Two yeomen coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety." Indeed the settled practice was to shoot all men that were met; and by this desperate system, the most inno-

cent and peaceable were generally the most likely to suffer.

FROM the inactivity of the insurgents encamped at Carrick-byrne, occasioned in a great degree from their want of an ostensible commander, constant sallies were made out of Ross, and great havoc and devastation committed throughout the country. These occurrences produced a general meeting of the principal inhabitants on the 1st of June, wherein Mr. Harvey was called on to act as commander in chief, and various other appointments and regulations took place for the maintenance and supply of the country. The day after Mr. Harvey took the command in person at Carrick-byrne, where on his arrival, several fugitives appeared giving dreadful accounts of their sufferings from the yeomanry, and at the time several houses were on fire about Old Ross. The commander in chief, instantly ordered Mr. Thomas Cloney, with all the horsemen that could be collected, to proceed against the depredators, who fled on their approach, and were chased in full speed to Ross.

THE people of the barony of Forth, having by this time sufficiently equipped themselves with pikes, joined the encampment now formed on the hill of Carrick-byrne, whither, it must be observed, the insurgents of the camp near Taghmon had shifted on the first of June. A small party from Wexford also denominated the Faith-corps, joined the encampment on Carrigrew.

THE committee of general regulation appointed in Wexford, and already noticed, waited on Mr. Harvey, commander in chief of the insurgents, expressing their hopes that the service in the protestant church, which had been hitherto interrupted, might be no longer discontinued; as they wished to do all in their power to dissipate religious animosities, by inculcating the absurdity of fear on this account alone, and to undeceive the numbers of sudden converts who were applying to the catholic priests to be baptized, beseeching in the most earnest manner to be thus re-

ceived into the bosom of the catholic church, from an idea that it was then the only plan of safety : nay, so persevering were the generality in their piteous entreaties, that the catholic clergy found themselves very distressingly circumstanced ; for should they refuse to comply with the wishes and earnest solicitations of such protestants as offered themselves in this way, they perceived that they would be subject to the most violent animadversions for any fatal accident that might befall any of them ; and on the other hand knowing that imagined necessity alone was the motive of apparent conversion, they must have considered it improper to accept their conformity without serious and solemn probation. On this occasion, however, the humanity of many superseded the dictates of duty so far as to induce them to risque the profanation of a sacrament for the preservation of lives, and to dispel the dreadful apprehensions from orangemen ; the greatest assurance of not belonging to that combination being that of conversion to the catholic communion, which was considered to render any person inadmissible into an association which the majority of the people absolutely believed to be instituted for their destruction.

A curious circumstance, however, occurred in Wexford at this time, which eventually produced a great number of conditional baptisms.—A young lady who on first application failed of persuading a catholic priest to confer on her the favour of baptism, had the diligence and address afterwards to discover that the protestant minister who had undertaken to perform that ceremony in her infancy, had only flippid or sprinkled the water at her with his finger, and so it was within the limits of probability, that a drop might not have reached her head so as to form an ablution. Being very ingenious and persevering in her arguments so as to appear capable of puzzling the nicest casuist, she at last made out her own a doubtful case, and was accordingly quieted by conditional baptism. When the particulars of this transaction got abroad, the so-

licitations to the catholic clergy for the boon of conditional baptism became considerably more frequent, the applicants quoting this recent precedent, and adducing the hearsay evidence, and far fetched recollection of grand-mothers, grand-aunts, and other grave and venerated relatives, with a long train of minute circumstances, to prove a similarity of cases, and claiming on this account an equal consideration. The epithets of *craw-thumpers*, opprobriously applied to catholics for contritely striking their breasts at their devotions, was never more strongly exemplified than by *these converts*. Catholics strike their breasts gently on certain occasions, and with the right hand alone, but protestants who attended at mass in these times generally continued to strike themselves vehemently with both hands almost during the whole service. I had the good fortune to prevent all such as consulted me on the occasion as to the expedience of conforming, by persuading them to avoid the disgrace of such a mockery ; and I had the satisfaction afterwards to hear those applauded who did not appear to change their religion, while those who turned with the times were reprobated, some as hypocrites and others as cowards. And in good truth, what favourable opinion could be entertained of such as did not continue faithful even to their God according to the dictates of their conscience.

THE military stationed at Gorey made constant sallies, in the course of which through the country they plundered and burned many houses, and shot several stragglers, who happened to fall in their way. This provoked the insurgents to vie with their opponents in this mode of warfare, and retaliation has on this, as well as on every other occasion, produced many woeful scenes. Enormities in fact were committed on both sides, which, among their many lamentable consequences, tended to exasperate the party-animosities already too powerfully destructive of the peace and happiness of the country. At this time reinforcements were every day crowding into

Gorey. On the 3d of June, general Loftus arrived there with fifteen hundred men under his command, as did also colonel Walpole from Carnew, whence he had several times gone out to reconnoitre the camp at Carrigrew. A determination was formed to attack this on the 4th, with the force then in Gorey, with which the troops from Carnew and Newtown-barry were to co-operate, so as to engage the insurgents on all sides, and from these arrangements, and considering the force that was to act against them, little doubt was entertained of their total and speedy defeat. The army from Gorey marched out at the appointed time, and formed into two divisions. The one under general Loftus, took route towards Ballycanew, while the other, commanded by colonel Walpole, proceeded by the Camolin road directly to commence the concerted attack on Carrigrew. The insurgents had, however, quitted this post, and were in full march towards Gorey, when they suddenly and unawares fell in with this military body under Colonel Walpole, at a place called Tubberneering. The meeting was equally unexpected on both sides, and this circumstance, no less true than extraordinary, neither party having any scouts, produced an instantaneous and confused action, in which colonel Walpole was killed in a few minutes after its commencement, and his troops immediately gave way and fled in the utmost precipitation and disorder, leaving the victors in possession of three pieces of cannon, two six-pounders, and another of inferior size. The fate of this action was so quickly decided, as to allow general Loftus not the smallest opportunity of affording the troops under colonel Walpole any assistance. The loss of the military in killed was, taken altogether, considerable, besides capt. M'Manus, lieutenant Hogg, and ensign Barry, of the Antrim militia, with many privates taken prisoners. The rest in the greatest possible haste being pursued by the insurgents, reached Gorey, which they as quickly passed through; but would, in revenge, have put the prison-

ers in the town to death had they not feared that the delay it would occasion might cost them too dearly. This account I have from a capt. of yeomanry, who opposed with all his might the perpetration of such a cruel and barbarous deed, and who, to his honour was incapable of countenancing such an atrocity under any circumstances. The retreat was thence very precipitate to Arklow, where a council of war was hastily held, at which it was as hastily determined to abandon that town, and this was accordingly put into immediate execution. Some were so panic-struck that they did not stop till they reached Dublin, but others stopped at different distances when their horses or themselves were not able to proceed farther. Gen. Loftus, on hearing the report of the cannon and other fire-arms in the engagement, not being able to go across the country, he proceeded round by the road to the scene of action, where he found the bodies of many slain, and did not learn the fate of colonel Walpole till he saw him stretched on the field of battle. He then moved toward Gorey, but thought it most prudent to alter his line of direction upon being saluted by the insurgents with the cannon they had just taken, and which they had drawn up to the summit of the hill of Gorey, which is immediately over the town, commanding it in every quarter. The general then marched to Carnew and from that to Tullow. The troops that had proceeded from Carnew in the morning, to co-operate in the intended general attack on the insurgents at Carrigrew, did not return thither upon hearing of the defeat, but made Newtown-barry with those who had come out from thence on the same expedition.

THE insurgents were now in possession of the whole of the county of Wexford, except the fort of Duncannon, the towns of Ross, and Newtown-barry; and were at perfect liberty if they pursued their advantages to seize upon Carnew, and also to enter Arklow, situated in the county of Wicklow, and what consequences might have ensued are now incalculable.

ON the evening of the 4th of June, the insurgents stationed on the hill of Carrick-byrne, whither the Taghmon encampment, as has been observed, was transferred on the 1st, now proceeded to Corbet-hill within a mile of the town of Ross, the garrison which had lately received great reinforcements, by the arrival there of the Donegal, Clare and Meath regiments of militia, a detachment of English and Irish artillery, the 5th dragoons, the Mid-Lothian fencibles, and on this very evening the county of Dublin regiment of militia considerably added to its force which upon the whole amounted to twelve hundred men, exclusive of the yeomen, all under the command of major-general Johnson, who expected an attack during the night, and consequently the troops remained under arms without being allowed to take any repose. The insurgents, led by their commander in chief, Mr. Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, a little after their arrival on Corbet-hill, were saluted with a few cannon-shot and bomb-shells from the town, without producing any other effect than that of increasing their vigilance. Mr. Harvey and his principal officers took up their quarters in the house of Corbet-hill, where, being regaled with an excellent supper and exquisite wines, they were so well pleased with their cheer, and so far forgot their prudence as commanders, that they had scarcely time to fall asleep since the moment of their retirement, until they were roused, by the orders they had given in their sober moments, to commence the attack at the break of day. Mr. Furlong was immediately dispatched with a flag of truce, and the following summons to the commanding officer in Ross:—

“ SIR,

“ As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces now assembled against that town. Your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford

forces now innumerable, and irresistible, will not be controuled if they meet with any resistance: to prevent therefore the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to do in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter and will bring the answer.

" I am, sir, &c. &c.

" B. B. HARVEY.

Camp at Corbet-hill,
half past three o'clock morning,
June 5th, 1798."

Mr. Furlong was shot the moment he approached the out-posts, which so exasperated the people, that they could not be restrained from instantly rushing in to attack the Three-bullet-gate, being the part of the town next to them; and this it was that principally prevented the concerted plan of assault from being carried into execution; as three divisions of their forces were to have begun their operations against different parts of the town at the same time. This particular division therefore not waiting till the other two should have reached their several stations of action, the latter not only did not proceed, but were seized with such a panic that they dispersed all over the country, flying in all directions to their several homes, and bearing as they went along the tidings of a total defeat; and this derout was in a great degree occasioned by the example of one of the divisional commanders, who without the least effort to answer the intent of his appointment, turned away from the action, and rode hastily homeward. Even in the town of Wexford, nineteen miles distant from Ross, the news of a defeat was announced, at an early hour in the day, by many fugitives who had taken that direction, relating various and strange adventures to account for their own precipitate flight. One fourth of the numbers that encamped on Corbet-hill

the evening before, did not stand in the morning of the day of action, so that even the division that commenced and afterwards continued the assault, was by no means complete, numbers of those who constituted it having also abandoned their stations, which were far from being adequately supplied by such of the two panic-struck divisions as had the courage and resolution to join in the battle; then going forward and in its greatest heat. From this statement however; it must appear, that no plan was pursued in the attack by the insurgents, but that whatever they accomplished in the onset, must have been from individual courage and intrepidity. They first dislodged the army from behind the walls and ditches, where they were very advantageously posted, and on this occasion the cavalry in their charges were repulsed with considerable loss; cornet Dodwell and twenty-seven men of the 5th dragoons, having fallen in the first onset. The military then retreated into the town through the Three-bullet-gate, pursued hot foot by the insurgents, who obliged them to move from one situation to another, until they at last drove them over the wooden-bridge on the Barrow into the county of Kilkenny. The main guard at the market-house, however, consisting of a serjeant and fifteen men, not only maintained their situation, but even defended it with uncommon bravery and resolution, having two swivels to support them. Major Vandeleur, of the Clare militia, also continued the whole of the day, with a strong detachment of his regiment at his post at Irishtown, where he stood pretty severe duty, but not altogether so violent as it would be, had the place been generally attacked, according to Mr. Harvey's original plan, this being the principal entrance. When the insurgents had thus got possession of the town, they fell to plundering and drinking, on which they became so intent, that they could not be brought on to follow up their advantage. In the mean time the army rallied on the county of Kilkenny side of the bridge; and although a retreat was

before determined on, yet they were induced to return upon perceiving that there was no pursuit, and besides they were powerfully instigated to this by the spirited exhortations of Messrs. M'Cormick and Devereux, two yeomen not possessed of any command, but the display of whose active courage and intrepidity contributed in a great degree to turn the fate of the day, and to whose real merit every praise is justly due on this occasion, wherein few officers distinguished themselves, as may be fairly concluded from the official returns of the killed and wounded, these casualties in regard to the officers not bearing due proportion to those of the private men, which could hardly be the case had the former maintained their stations with becoming firmness. The county of Dublin militia on hearing of the death of their favourite colonel, lord Mountjoy, were the first to renew the attack under the command of major Vesey. Their example was followed by the first of the troops, and their united efforts shortly compelled such of the insurgents as were not too drunk to fly out of the town, of which they had been, by this time, some hours in possession. Having respired a little however from their hasty retreat, which in a great degree made them sober, they again returned to the charge, and the contest which now ensued was maintained on both sides with great obstinacy, both parties being induced, by experience of the former encounter, not to relax their exertions. The intrepidity of the insurgents was truly remarkable, as notwithstanding the dreadful havock made in their ranks by the artillery, they rushed up to the very mouths of the cannon, regardless of the numbers that were falling on all sides of them, and pushed forward with such impetuosity, that they obliged the army to retire once more and leave the town to themselves. But even after this they soon fell into the same misconduct as before, crowning their bravery with drunkenness. Of this the proper advantage was quickly taken by the army, who again renewed the

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attack, by which they finally became perfect masters of the town. Several houses were set on fire and consumed in the course of this and the former attack, but one of these deserves particular notice ; this was a slated house, four stories high, on the summit of the main street near the church, in which seventy-five persons were burnt to ashes ; none having escaped but one man, who in running away was fortunate enough to get clear of the fire of the soldiery. On the evening of the preceding Wednesday, Mr. Cullimore a quaker, wishing to visit his family at his country-house, a short distance from the town, was taken prisoner, as he attempted to pass the patrols, brought in and confined in the market-house, from which he was not released on the day of battle, as if it were by the special interference of providence, for some of the military, when they imagined the day was going against them, had resolved to put all the prisoners in the town to death, but when a party of those on guard entered the place of confinement for the nefarious purpose, Mr. Cullimore addressed them with such an authoritative and impressive tone, saying, "*You shall not shoot the prisoners ;—there are some men here as loyal as you are.*" This address and manner of a better man than Marius, awed and overcame the sanguinary slaves, so that they retired without perpetrating the horrid crime of their bloody intent !—!—! Some officers and privates of the king's troops, in the various success of the day, were induced, from time to time, to attempt a retreat to Waterford through the county of Kilkenny. Some of these succeeded in their efforts, and from their unfavourable accounts of the battle, the Roscommon militia who were in full march toward Ross, turned about for Waterford ; and even captain Dillon, with some of the county of Dublin militia, were intercepted and put to death in their progress, by the country people, who on sight of the fugitives and on the report of the success of the county of Wexford insurgents, were making every preparation, and near-

ly in readiness to join them. The insurgents, being upbraided by their chiefs for sullying their bravery by drunkenness, made a third attempt to regain the town, and in this they displayed equal valour with what they exhibited in the earlier part of the day ; but by this time the army had acquired a greater degree of confidence in their own strength, while several houses blazed in tremendous conflagration ; and the insurgents received an irreparable loss, when their intrepid leader, John Kelly of Killan, whose dauntless valour on this day was but too conspicuous, received a wound in the leg, which put an end to his career of victory ! Paralysed by the loss of such a man's exertions, and no longer able to withstand the violence of the flying artillery, the insurgents sounded a regular retreat, bringing away with them a piece of cannon taken from the army in the course of the action, having lost one which they brought with them, together with some swivels and small pieces, which had been drawn on for mere shew, and which could not be of much use to either party. The insurgents after their defeat returned to their former station, having encamped this night at Carrick-byrne.

THE loss of the army on this day, by official statement, is allowed to be two hundred and thirty, in killed, wounded, and missing ; but that of the insurgents has been variously reported even by different eye-witnesses, some making it but five hundred, while others state it at two thousand. Indeed, it is impossible to ascertain their loss during the battle itself, as the number of dead are said to be doubly accumulated by those who were killed unarmed and unresisting after it was all over. Many men had become so intoxicated in the course of the day, that they were incapable of flying out of the town in the retreat of their associates, and several of the inhabitants, whose houses were burnt, and having therefore no place to retire to, fell victims alike as straggling insurgents to the undistinguishing fury of the irritated soldiery, from which no person could escape.

who was not called in military attire of one kind or other. Several proposals were made to the general to abandon the town and retreat to Kilkenny, but he was determined to stand as long as he had a man to support him ; however, had the troops been attacked that night, the prevalent opinion is, they would have fled. In the dispatches published, thanks were returned to all commanding officers. The uncommon bravery and exertions of Mr. Edward Devereux appeared so meritorious to general Johnson, that he was offered a commission in the army, which his mercantile avocations prevented him from accepting of.

It is an invariable maxim that cowardice and cruelty are very closely allied. This was most strongly exemplified by the barbarous conduct of the run-away murderers who fled from the battle of Ross to Scullabogue, where a number of prisoners were confined in a barn, to which these savage miscreants (having overpowered the guards, who resisted them as long as they could) set fire, and made every person within its walls, nearly eighty in number, perish in the flames. One hundred and eighty-four are confidently asserted to have been victims on this melancholy occasion, besides thirty-seven shot and piked ; but then the same account states, that the barn was in dimensions only thirty-four feet long, and fifteen feet wide ; and it is not therefore within the limit of reasonable probability that there were so many, as they would have been so closely crammed in, that the cruelty of such confinement could not escape notice ; indeed, in such case they could scarcely stand together and respire. On the day following, a proclamation, in the form of resolutions by the whole insurgent army, was published by the commander in chief, signed by himself, and countersigned by the adjutant-general, with intention to curb all excesses against life and property, and encouraging by every possible means union and harmony among all descriptions of the people. I deem it necessary to insert it, and here accordingly it follows :

“ At a meeting of the general and several officers
 “ of the united army of the county of Wexford,
 “ the following resolutions were agreed upon :

“ RESOLVED, that the commander in chief shall
 “ send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of
 “ bringing in all men they shall find loitering and
 “ delaying at home, or elsewhere ; and if any resist-
 “ ance be given to those guards, so to be sent by the
 “ commanding officer's orders, it is our desire and
 “ orders, that such persons so giving resistance shall
 “ be liable to be put to death, by the guards, who
 “ are to bear a commission for that purpose ; and all
 “ such persons found to be so loitering and delaying
 “ at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be
 “ tried by a court martial, appointed and chosen from
 “ among the commanders of all the different corps,
 “ and be punished with death.

“ RESOLVED, that all officers shall immediately re-
 “ pair to their respective quarters, and remain with
 “ their different corps, and not depart therefrom un-
 “ der pain of death, unless authorized to quit by writ-
 “ ten orders from the commander in chief for that
 “ purpose.

“ It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in
 “ rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all
 “ persons who shall fly or desert from any engage-
 “ ment ; and that these orders shall be taken notice
 “ of by all officers commanding in such engagement.

“ ALL men refusing to obey their superior officers,
 “ to be tried by a court-martial and punished ac-
 “ cording to their sentence.

“ It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt
 “ to leave their respective quarters when they have
 “ been halted by the commander in chief, shall suffer
 “ death, unless they shall have leave from their offi-
 “ cers for so doing.

“ It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all
 “ persons who have stolen or taken away any horse
 “ or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses
 “ to the camp, at head-quarters ; otherwise for any

“ horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of
 “ any person to whom he does not belong, that person
 “ shall on being convicted thereof, suffer death :

“ AND any goods that shall have been plundered
 “ from any house, if not brought in to head-quarters,
 “ or returned immediately to the houses or owners,
 “ that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on
 “ being convicted thereof, suffer death.

“ IT is also resolved, that any person or persons
 “ who shall take upon them to kill or murder any per-
 “ son or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any
 “ plunder, without special written orders from the
 “ commander in chief, shall suffer death.

“ By order of

“ B. B. HARVEY, commander in chief.

“ FRANCIS BREEN, sec. and adj.”

“ Head-quarters, Carrick-byrne

“ camp, June 6, 1798.”

A proclamation of similar tendency was issued at Wexford on the 7th, addressed to the insurgent armies by general Edward Roche, conceived in the following words :

“ TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

“ COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-SELDIERS !

“ Your patriotic exertions in the cause of your
 “ country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine
 “ expectations, and in a short time must ultimately
 “ be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her
 “ drooping head : thousands daily flock to her stan-
 “ dard : the voice of her children every where pre-
 “ vails. Let us then, in the moment of triumph, re-
 “ turn thanks to the Almighty ruler of the universe,
 “ that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary
 “ measures which of late were but too often resorted
 “ to by the creatures of government, to keep the peo-
 “ ple in slavery.

“ NOTHING now, my countrymen, appears neces-
 “ sary to secure the conquests you have already won,

“ but an implicit obedience to the commands of your
 “ chiefs ; for through a want of proper subordination
 “ and discipline, all may be endangered.

“ At this eventful period, all Europe must admire
 “ and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic
 “ acts atchieved by people strangers to military tactics,
 “ and having few professional commanders : but what
 “ power can resist men fighting for liberty !

“ In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let
 “ not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act
 “ of cruelty : many of those unfortunate men now in
 “ prison were not your enemies from principle ; most
 “ of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged to
 “ oppose you : neither let a difference in religious
 “ sentiments cause a difference among the people.
 “ Recur to the debates in the Irish house of lords on
 “ the 19th of February last ; you will there see a pa-
 “ triotic and enlightened protestant bishop, (Down
 “ and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence,
 “ pleading for catholic emancipation and parliamenta-
 “ ry reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments
 “ of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition
 “ of his fellow-courtiers.

“ To promote a union of brotherhood and affec-
 “ tion among our countrymen of all religious persua-
 “ sions, has been our principal object : we have sworn
 “ in the most solemn manner—have associated for
 “ this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall
 “ shake our resolution.

“ To my protestant soldiers I feel much indebted
 “ for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they
 “ exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

EDWARD ROCHE.

“ Wexford, June 7, 1798.”

I should have mentioned before, that in the evening
 of the day on which the insurgents obtained posses-
 sion of Enniscorthy, a drummer of the North Cork
 militia, who had some time before refused to beat his
 drum, when some tune, obnoxious to the people, was

called for, or to whip some of the prisoners, was found hanging in the lodgings of Mr. Handcock, a clergyman and magistrate, who resided in that town!—When this fact became generally known, it is impossible to conceive the indignation and fury it excited in the minds of the people, already flushed with victory and heated by intoxication. They considered the murdered soldier as a victim immolated to their cause;—they conceived he had met that fate to which they were all doomed unless they had risen against extermination. Many were put to death in consequence, notwithstanding that the more sensible and humane part endeavoured to protect the unhappy sufferers, but the voice of those were drowned in the general cry of “They would not let one of us escape if we were in their power; we would be all served like the drummer.”

WHILE the insurgents kept possession of the town of Enniscorthy, another circumstance occurred, which produced much mischief. The cavalry of Newtownbarry made an inroad toward the insurgents’ camp, as far as the bridge of Scarawalsh, which is three miles from Enniscorthy, and at this place killed a boy who was an idiot: he happened to be the nephew of a catholic priest in the neighbourhood; and the killing of this creature, who never could have made use of hostile weapons, produced a violent ferment which was not appeased until the people sacrificed, (as if to his *manes*) twelve or fourteen of their prisoners. These facts, if any are wanting, show the impolicy and wickedness of shedding blood unnecessarily even in the fury of war.—The principle of retaliation is strongly implanted in the human heart, and therefore all unnecessary irritation should be sedulously avoided.

It is an extraordinary fact, that the insurgents did not possess, in the whole course of the insurrection, as much powder as would be deemed necessary, by any military man, for the supply of one battle, and that their guns-men, so little used to warfare, never retired until they had fired their last charge, exhibit-

ing on all occasions amazing intrepidity ; but it was impossible to furnish fire-arms for the numbers offering their services. In their different encampments they were mostly armed with pikes, and there was scarcely any kind of regularity or order observed, every individual absenting at his own discretion, so that at night the camps were almost totally deserted, but were in the day as crowded as ever. Although most of the people of Ireland can but seldom indulge in the luxury of eating meat, yet as the vast numbers of the insurgents were now to be supplied with this article, it became an absolute necessary. It has been confidently asserted, and too strongly inculcated, that the insurgents were resolved to sacrifice all protestants ; of this the best refutation is, that had this been their principle or intention, the accomplishment was in their power, and the avoiding its perpetration at the angry and exasperated moment, must be considered conclusive in opposite argument. Surely the indiscriminate destruction at Scullabogue, where fifteen or sixteen catholics perished with the rest in the flames, sufficiently refutes this barefaced assertion ; but as the public mind has been so misled, I deem it absolutely necessary to state other facts that give the lie to surmise, which, among the general excesses of the day, would not otherwise deserve historical notice. Two catholics were put to death by the people in Wexford, Francis Murphy on the 3d, and Joseph Murphy on the 14th of June, both for being informers.

DURING the whole period of the insurrection in the county of Wexford, it is a fact no less surprising than true, that the fair sex was respected even by those who did not hesitate to rob or murder ; no one instance existing of a female being injured or violated, including the wives, sisters and daughters of those denominated the greatest enemies of the people ; in whose conduct appears another very striking feature : with respect to the King, they were silent : his majesty's name was not mentioned with disrespect, nor

was he considered as the cause of their misfortunes ; but indeed they preserved no such delicacy with respect to the characters of those whom they considered the promoters and supporters of their persecutions : they reviled them in the strongest terms of reprobation, and did not spare many of their lives or properties.

THE peace and quietness existing in the town of Wexford during the insurrection, except the little disturbance, now and again occasioned, by the vociferous commissaries from the camps, was very remarkable.

To endeavour to please the people, who were very vociferous against all those they considered as occasioning the cruelties practised against them, the following proclamation was issued :

“ P R O C L A M A T I O N

“ of the PEOPLE of the COUNTY of WEXFORD.

“ WHEREAS it stands manifestly notorious that James
 “ Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archi-
 “ bald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this coun-
 “ ty, have committed the most horrid acts of cruel-
 “ ty, violence and oppression against our peaceable
 “ and well-disposed countrymen : now we the peo-
 “ ple associated and united for the purpose of pro-
 “ curing our just rights, and being determined to
 “ protect the persons and properties of those of all
 “ religious persuasions, who have not oppressed us,
 “ and are willing to join with heart and hand our
 “ glorious cause ; as well as to shew our marked dis-
 “ approbation and horror of the crimes of the above
 “ delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to
 “ use every exertion in their power to apprehend the
 “ bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, Hawtrey White,
 “ Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob,
 “ and to secure and convey them to the goal of Wex-
 “ ford, to be brought before the tribunal of the peo-
 “ ple. Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.

“ God save the people.”

THE country was so guarded, in every quarter, as to have a party stationed at every cross-road, and this service was allotted to the old and infirm, or such as were incapable of bearing the fatigue of marching; but they were also attended by many others who absented themselves from the camps on various pretences.

A pitched cap being found in the barrack of Wexford, and an orange commission or warrant appointing a serjeant of the North Cork militia to found an orange lodge in the town, roused the people from the utmost tranquillity to the highest pitch of fury. After a variety of confused exclamations against the promoters, it was resolved to clap the pitched cap on the head of the orange lord, who, they said, had been the introducer of that system in the county of Wexford. They accordingly proceeded from the barrack, exhibiting the pitched cap on the top of a pike, displaying at the same time the orange commission or warrant, and were in direct march, with violent shouts of exultation, to lord Kingsborough's lodging. I was in the act of bathing at the time, and hearing the tumultuous noise, I dressed quickly and arrived at the house along with them. I went up to lord Kingsboro's room and sought to appease the multitude by addressing them from the window; but this was not effected till many of the principal inhabitants were brought to the scene of tumult; when one of them, on pretence of looking at the pitched cap, took and threw it over the quay, and the hated emblem being no longer in view, the fury of the people abated, the orange commission or warrant was taken from them, and they dispersed.

FROM the great heat and violence of the people against lord Kingsborough, in consequence of reports of his cruelty and exertions in flogging, and the other modes previously practised for quieting the people, different parties, from town and country, frequently proceeded to the house where he was confined, with an intention of putting him to death, but the guards

always refusing to give him out to them without an order, and during the delay thus occasioned, providentially for his lordship, one or other of the principal inhabitants, usually came up, and by representing the conditions, which had been promised him on surrendering, they prevailed on the people to depart. Considering the great fury of the people against lord Kingsborough for his previous violent exertions, being reported very cruel and sanguinary, his escape must be considered really wonderful, if not truly astonishing.

THE insurgents in the different camps being in great want of gun-powder, without which they could not proceed, remained stationary for several days, as the powder in Wexford was considered too little for its defence, and different reports were circulated, that it was to be attacked from the southern quarter. The demand for gun-powder, however, from the camp on Gorey-hill, was so pressing, that a barrel of it was sent thither from Wexford to enable the insurgents to proceed to Arklow, which, on the defeat of colonel Walpole, had been deserted by the military ; but the inhabitants of which, on being left to themselves, remained quietly at home, imitating the example that had been set them at Gorey, before the battle of Tubberneering, when they were forced and overwhelmed into the system of the insurrection. The Cavan militia was ordered from Dublin to join colonel Walpole's division, then under general Needham, and they marched into Arklow on the 6th of June ; different other parties of the military arrived there on the 7th and 8th, and on the 9th the garrison was considerably reinforced by the Durham fensibles, who suffered no fatigue in their way from Dublin, as they had been conveyed in carriages and jaunting-cars, pressed for that purpose ; the whole force in Arklow, amounted all together to sixteen hundred men. The insurgents had marched from Gorey-hill to Coolgreny, where arranging their mode of attack, they proceeded in two great columns, one toward the fishery on the sea-

side, and the other toward the upper end of the town, the attack being to be made on both ends of the town at once. The military, having full notice of the approach, were very advantageously posted, without which they could not have resisted the impetuous attack made upon them; however they were obliged to retire somewhat from their original positions. In a violent effort to gain the upper end of the town, the rev. Michael Murphy, who led on the insurgents at that side, fell, and this stopped the progress and prevented the success of the attempt. Various did the fortune of the day seem to incline; it is necessary however to mention that rumours of a retreat of the troops were circulated, and that orders were given, and seeming preparations made for that purpose; but this still appears a disputed point, and as the proverb has it "all is well that ends well." The insurgents, after having displayed singular bravery, courage and intrepidity, as long as their ammunition lasted, retreated when that was expended, to their former position at Gorey; and thus ended the battle, at the very moment that it is alleged the army had determined to retreat; and most undoubtedly my information warrants me to mention that some of the military had already retreated; and I cannot positively say they might not have good authority for their conduct. Although the rev. Mr. Gordon had documents from under the hand of a distinguished officer, colonel Bainbridge, that sufficiently warrants the assertion; it was however, generally circulated by many that were in the action; and as, upon the whole, I would not readily admit hearsay evidence, but on the clearest conviction of the truth, yet I think my account would be deficient, if I omitted to mention an important fact, and upon which so much stress is laid, as related by Mr. Gordon.

"MANY instances might be given of men, who at the hazard of their own lives, concealed and maintained loyalists until the storm passed away; on the other hand many might be given of cruelties commit-

ted by persons not natives of Ireland ; I shall mention only one act, not of what I shall call cruelty, since no pain was inflicted, but ferocity not calculated to soften the rancour of the insurgents : some soldiers of the ancient British regiment cut open the dead body of father Michael Murphy, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted his body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it."

—Mr. George Taylor in his historical account of the Wexfordian rebellion, says, " Lord Mountnorris and some of his troop, in viewing the scene of action, found the body of the perfidious priest Murphy, who so much deceived him and the country. Being exasperated, his lordship ordered the head to be struck off, and his body to be thrown into a house that was burning, exclaiming, "*let his body go where his soul is.*" I hope that the writer was misinformed, and that the noble earl, remarkable for his liberality to Romanists, was not the author of this act."

THE soldiery stationed at Newtown-barry, made several excursions, and in the course of their progress, some miles from the town, they shot every man they met, however unarmed and unoffending, and plundered and burned several houses. The insurgents on Vinegar-hill, irritated by these excesses, followed the example, and day after day, made excursions from their camp to counteract the military ; but however it so happened, that they did not fall in with each other, as they proceeded on different sides of the Slaney, which prevented their meeting, although their depredations were in sight of each other ; and while the one party was burning and destroying what they considered enemy's property, in one quarter, the other, actuated by revenge, was committing like devastation in another ; and it would seem as if by preconcertion, that both moved in different directions on every particular day of excursion ; so that the only warfare between them was an apparent strife, who should cause the *greatest desolation*, or who should appear most

eager to destroy what was spared by the other, so that the state of the country was truly lamentable.

THERE were but few guns-men belonging to the stationary camp at Vinegar-hill, and an attack on that post being apprehended, one hundred and thirty guns-men were sent thither from Wexford, under the command of captain Murphy. These men had not experienced any of the persecutions practised previous to the insurrection, and were consequently untainted with the rancorous spirit of revenge which they produced in other quarters. In short they were remarkable for regularity of conduct, and they prevented a continuation of the cruel acts that had been hitherto perpetrated there; for being shocked on the morning of the 10th of June, which was the next after their arrival, by seeing a man put to death, the Wexford-men would not witness such another scene, and they declared they would not permit another instance of the kind while they remained; and their humane example shamed the most refractory, whom they awed into order, so that not another person suffered on Vinegar-hill thenceforward until the 20th. In Wexford, attempts were made to manufacture gun-powder, to supply the scarcity of that article, which, however, did not succeed, for though it would explode, yet it was with little or no force. The weather continued remarkably fine and serene, a circumstance very favourable to the insurgents' mode of warfare, as they had scarcely any covering but a few booths or tents not sufficient to contain even their officers, so that the camps were not much encumbered with equipage and only requiring the choice of a field, and should one not prove ample enough for their numbers, the adjoining enclosures were occupied in sufficient extent to contain them in the open air.

THE encampment on Gorey-hill had, by this time removed to Limerick-hill, and the army, which was now daily reinforced, made frequent sallies from their several stations and committed the most violent excesses, putting to death every man who came in their

way, whether by accident or otherwise, not were the insurgents backward in retaliation; so that the situation of such as were placed between the contending parties was truly pitiable; being uncertain for an instant of the safety of their lives or properties, and equally subject to military and popular violence and devastation. Several strong reports had now prevailed throughout the county of Wexford, that the most desperate atrocities had been committed by the soldiery in their different quarters, and this roused the already irritated passions of the people to revenge, so as to be productive of many lamentable acts of outrage, ever attendant on civil commotion, and keeping alive those melancholy discords which never occur, in modern times, between separate and independant nations at war; and which all enlightened and humane people so strongly detest and reprobate.

THE critical situation of the council, as far as it regarded the management of the people themselves, may be well exemplified by the following occurrence. The town of Wexford, being in a state of the utmost tranquility, was all at once thrown into the most violent confusion and alarm, by a great cavalcade coming into it, over the bridge, preceded by captain Dixon and his wife, who road through the streets, while he with gesture and expression the most outrageous, exhibited a fire-screen, ornamented with various emblematical figures representing some heathen gods, and with orange bordering, fringe and tassels, which he represented as the insignia of an orange lodge, and the figures he tremendously announced as the representations of the tortures which the catholics were to suffer from orangemen; calling on the people to take signal vengeance, as he produced to them, he said, the discovery of the whole plot, found at Artramont, the seat of colonel Lehunte. It is impossible to describe the fury of the people on this occasion, roused to the most violent pitch in an instant, and only to be accounted for on the principle of their supposition or rather persuasion of their intended extermination, which the sight of any thing orange awakened in the

most sensitive manner, similarly to what has been before related concerning the orange warrant or commission, and pitched cap discovered in the barracks of Wexford.—When captain Dixon had, by this infernal and tumultuous conduct, assembled almost all the inhabitants of the town, (whose phrensy, on seeing the orange ornaments, and hearing his assertions most desperately vociferated, it is impossible to describe,) he proceeded directly to the house wherein colonel Lehunte lodged, dragged him out and marched him down to the goal, amidst a furious and enraged mob, by whom it is wonderful that his life was spared at the instant.

THE populace at length permitted some gentlemen to address them from the windows, and it was a considerable time before they were able to persuade them that all their fury and madness had proceeded from the exhibition of a fire-screen, on which were represented some heathen gods, and which formed part of the ornaments of a room furnished three years before, with orange borderings and trimmings, then considered the most fashionable colour.

ON the 16th several people from the neighbourhood of Gorey formed a small encampment on Ask-hill, between Gorey and Arklow, from which last-mentioned town, since the battle fought there, the troops issued with peculiar caution. On this day, however, a troop of yeomen cavalry had the fortitude to advance toward the little camp of the insurgents. This was, at the time, very inconsiderable as to numbers, having no more than about one hundred men equipped or fit for action, the rest having either dispersed or proceeded to Vinegar-hill; and even half the remaining number precipitately fled at the approach of the cavalry; while the other half, armed with pikes only, *stripped to their shirts*, to be unencumbered in exertion, and ran in full speed to meet the yeomen; but these avoided the encounter and expeditiously retreated to Arklow. The insurgents then retired from Ask-hill, and moved into the coun-

try between Oulard and Wexford, and were distributed through the different houses in that neighbourhood.

EARLY on the 19th, the encampment on Lacken-hill was surprised by a military force that came out from Ross; and the insurgents, provided with little or no ammunition, and not apprehending an attack, were nearly surrounded before they were aware of their situation. They were also but few in number, for although vast multitudes appeared in their encampments in the day-time, yet they were almost deserted during the night, as all persons took the liberty of going and coming as they pleased. But notwithstanding this and the sudden emergency, they effected a good retreat to the Three-rocks, without the loss of a man. This was contrived in a masterly manner, by the address of their commander, the rev. Philip Roche, who, being roused from his bed by the general alarm, ordered the foot directly to retreat, and having collected immediately round him the few horsemen that could be got together, caused them to seize on several banners, and keep waving them at different distances, as it were in defiance, so as to intimidate the troops from making a sudden onset, and when he knew that his foot were at a safe distance, he and his few horsemen galloped after them, so that by this contrivance, that might do honour to an experienced general, he completely baffled the military, brought off his whole force entire, and was himself the last in quitting the hill.

GENERAL dispositions were now made to attack the insurgents on all sides, and the several divisions of the army had orders from lieutenant-general Lake to proceed in different directions for that purpose. They were all to move toward the important post of Vinegar-hill, occupied by the permanent encampment of the insurgents, since the 23th of May, on the taking of Enniscorthy. Pursuant to the plan of a general assault, lieutenant-gen. Dundas proceeded on the 18th of June from Baltinglass to Hacket's-

town, whence he was to proceed, in conjunction with major-gen. Loftus, who was to join him from Tullow, with the forces under his command, to move forward to attack the insurgents, posted on Mount-pleasant. These seemed willing enough to engage, but the troops were prevented from coming to action here, by other orders from lieut. general Lake, who thought it more prudent to wait the assistance and co-operation of his whole force combined, than to risk a partial engagement which might thwart or impede his general plan of operations. Major-general Needham, who commanded in Arklow, moved on the 19th to Gorey, and on the next day encamped on Oulard-hill, whence he was to proceed to Enniscorthy. Greater devastation was perceivable from Arklow to Oulard, than in any other part of the country. On the 19th, major-generals Johnston and Eustace, after obliging the insurgents posted on Lacken-hill hastily to abandon their situation, proceeded to Bloomfield, where they encamped on the evening of the 20th; while brigadier-general Moore reached his appointed station at Fooks's-mill on the same evening, and in major-gen. sir James Duff, who had marched from Newtown-barry, took his station with major-general Loftus at Scarawalsh. In the course of the progressive march of these several divisions of the army, great devastation took place; numbers of houses were burned, and corn and various kind of property were plundered and destroyed, mostly at the instance of the yeomen returning to their different neighbourhoods. It is astonishing that landlords of all descriptions could so far forget their own interests as to join in the destruction of houses on their lands, however they might be induced to hunt out their lessees, and to sacrifice them, and so put an end at once to their leases.—Yet many instances of this kind are related throughout the country.

ACCORDING to the pre-concerted and comprehensive plan of operations, all the generals arrived, with their several divisions, at the different stations to which

they had been ordered, on the 20th, of which they severally apprised lieutenant-general Lake, who was himself, with his staff and lieutenant-general Dundas, posted at Solsborough.—The insurgents of the northern part of the county of Wexford had now concentrated their force on their station of Vinegar-hill, and at a consultation of their chiefs it was proposed to make a general assault on the post of Solsborough during the night, but to this the people could not be prevailed upon to agree ; who chose rather to depend upon their very scanty provision of powder, and wait for open day-light to engage. It is very surprising, that, considering the great courage, and intrepidity displayed by them in so many engagements the insurgents could never be brought to make a nocturnal attack wherein they must have inevitably proved successful, as the confusion into which the regular troops would have been thrown by such a proceeding, would reduce them to a level with irregular bodies, whose superiority of numbers must necessarily have given them every advantage. On the 19th, general Edward Roche, and such of the insurgents of his neighbourhood as were at Vinegar-hill, were sent home to collect the whole mass of the people for general defence. By the march of the army in all directions, towards Vinegar-hill and Wexford, a general flight of such of the inhabitants as could get off took place ; and as the greater part of the county was now occupied by the troops, the whole population was compressed into a very narrow space ; and at this time there was not an encampment of insurgents in the northern part of the county, except at Vinegar-hill ; while in the southern quarter the small camps of Carne and Rastoonstown were concentrated at the Three-rocks.

THE alarm was now general throughout the whole country ; all men were called to attend the camps ; and Wexford became the universal rendezvous of the fugitives, who reported, with various circumstances of horror, the progress of the different armies approaching in every direction, marking their move-

nents with terrible devastation. Ships of war were also seen off the coast, and several gun-boats blocked up the entrance of the harbour, which precluded the possibility of any vessel getting out; so that Wexford was now on the brink of destruction, and the inhabitants without the smallest hope of escape. It is dreadful to conceive, and impossible to describe, the horrors felt by all who had the misfortune of being in the town on this most critical occasion. The melancholy scenes of devastation perpetrated by the army, in the country about Carrick-byrne, exhibited a melancholy picture; and from the commanding situation of the camp at the Three-rocks, on the mountain of Forth, the general conflagration, which was as progressive as the march of the troops, was clearly perceivable. On the approach of the army, great numbers of countrymen, with their wives and children, and any little baggage they could hastily pack up, fled toward Wexford, as to an asylum or place of refuge; and the number of these was encreased every instant by the arrival of new fugitives, who described, in melancholy strain of lamentation, how their houses were plundered and destroyed, and how they themselves had narrowly escaped with life from the fury of the soldiery, who when thus let loose and encouraged to range over and ravage a country, become the greatest curse that can befall it!!!

I must however observe, that general Moore did all in his power to prevent these atrocities, and got some plunderers immediately put to death; but his humane and benevolent intentions were not so successful from the representations and excitements of the refugees returning home. It is much to be regretted that he was not afterward left in command in the county of Wexford, as he was ordered to Wicklow, where his conciliatory conduct and humanity were conspicuous, and will ever be remembered with gratitude by the people, who flocked to his standard for protection. Did Ireland enjoy the blessings of

such rulers, it would never have been involved in such a dreadful situation.

THE Rev. Philip Roche, after having settled the encampment at the Three-rocks, came into Wexford and demanded all kinds of supplies for his forces ; and as the inhabitants, (except the guns-men, who attended for some time on Vinegar-hill) had never quit their homes or assisted at any battle, they were looked upon in a very invidious point of view by the rest of the people ; who accordingly vowed the destruction of the town if all its armed men would not appear at the camp on the Three-rocks, early the next morning, and join in general defence. The Rev. general Roche, on coming into Wexford, was greatly exhausted from his diligent and unremitting exertions in covering the retreat from Lacken-hill, and not having taken a morsel of food during the whole day, less drink than usual exhibited him in the course of the evening very much intoxicated. Of this man it is however necessary to say, that however apparently violent and boisterous, he was remarkable for humanity. He never suffered a man to be put to death on Lacken-hill ; and the following, recorded by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, is a most powerful instance of his benevolence.—After stating, that although “ Philip Roche was in appearance fierce and sanguinary, yet several persons now living owe their lives to his boisterous interference ;” he proceeds to state, that “ two protestants in a respectable situation in life, brothers, of the name of Robinson, inhabitants of the parish of Killegny, being seized and carried to Vinegar-hill, some of their Roman catholic tenants, anxious for their safety, galloped in full speed to Roche’s quarters at Lacken, and begged his assistance. He immediately sent an express with orders to bring the two Robinsons to Lacken, pretending to have charges of a criminal nature against them, for which they should be tried. The miscreants on Vinegar-hill, who were preparing to butcher these men, though they were advanced in years, and unimpeachable

with any other crime than that of protestantism, on receipt of Roche's orders, relinquished their fury, not doubting that death awaited them at Lacken. But Roche, whose object was to snatch these innocent men from the jaws of the blood-hounds, immediately on their arrival at his quarters, gave them written protections, and sent them to their homes, where they were soon after in danger of being hanged by the king's troops, who were too ready to pronounce disloyal all such as had been spared by rebel parties." But to put the question for ever at rest, whether the insurrection of this period was a war of religion, it is only necessary to observe, that this was utterly impossible, notwithstanding the fanatic deeds of some base and barbarous individuals, since the militia regiments, who fought with such determined animosity against the insurgents, were mostly composed of catholics.

WHILE the principal inhabitants of Wexford were in consultation, to which they were now summoned, upon the best mode of self-preservation and defence, the order for all the armed men to appear in camp by break-of-day became imperious; and the outcry was so loud against the backwardness of the Wexford-men, that several set off immediately. The six small cannon on board the Guinea cutter were brought on shore, and their carriages being too small for land service, they were tied on cars and taken, thus mounted, by the sailors to the camp at the Three-rocks, where the scarcity of ammunition was so great, that not a charge remained for any other cannon. On this evening it was that the Wexford guns-men had returned home from Vinegar-hill: and about seventy men from the northern side of the Slaney came into town during the night, and were lodged in the barrack by captain Dixon, who had been remarkably active in spreading alarm through the country north of the town, through which he had rode several miles to induce the people to come into Wexford, as it were for general defence. Early on the morning of

the 20th, the drum beat to arms, and all the armed inhabitants marched out to camp; leaving none in the town but the guards that had been on duty since the day before. Some time after, I met capt. Dixon in the street, booted and spurred, and, in all appearance, thoroughly equipped and accoutred to go out to battle: his horse also stood waiting at his door fully caparisoned. On enquiry, however, I found he had no real intention of quitting the town. I then informed him, that I was sent by the commander in chief to request his immediate attendance at the Three-rocks, but this he declined obeying, and was at the time in the act of sending whiskey to the countrymen who were in the barracks; and on my expressing surprise that these men should remain in the town, contrary to general orders, he replied, that his intention was to keep these men in Wexford to replace the guards, who, he said, had never been in any battle, and must now go out, as it was but fair they should share hardship in their turn, and allow some repose to those men who had been in every engagement. On this intelligence I immediately got on horseback and rode up to the barracks, where I endeavoured by every means in my power to induce the men to leave the town; and they at length seemed willing to consent: but on the arrival of captain Dixon, with the reinforcement of whiskey, they so far altered their opinions and inclinations, that I was threatened for my interference. From the specimen of captain Dixon's disposition displayed by his conduct to col. Lehunte, no confidence could be placed in him; and seeing his influence over these men, who now, at his instance, absolutely refused to quit the town, measures of precaution naturally suggested themselves. After recommending to the guards to be vigilant on their station, which they were to quit upon no account, I galloped off to the camp at Three-rocks, to request a reinforcement of the Wexford-men to be sent back with me, but which I had the greatest difficulty in obtaining, notwithstanding

all my remonstrances, and was at last granted, rather to get rid of my importunity than from any other reason or motive ; as no idea of a massacre was at all entertained. I was, however, allowed to take my choice of the Wexford corps, but on no condition should they be permitted to quit the camp, until the whole remaining force should have marched off, as it was apprehended that if they were seen going they might be followed by others. Fearing the men might be countermanded, if I should leave them before the main body should have moved off, I waited for that event, which took up a considerable time ; during which I also procured a letter from the commander in chief, Mr. Harvey, directed to captain Dixon, ordering him to come out to camp, as I felt earnest wishes to induce him to leave the town, for which purpose I left no means untried, but all without effect. On consulting with some gentlemen in the Selsker corps, which was that I had chosen to return with me, as it contained more respectable persons, and protestants since in different yeomanry corps, than any other in Wexford, I proposed, that they should all take an oath not to drink spirits, until further orders, as I perceived some drunken men among them, who could not be depended upon. This plan was generally approved of, and all were accordingly sworn, except four or five who were immediately sent off with the main body. This corps consisted of one hundred and twenty-five pike-men (no gun's-man being allowed to return) and with these, having secured their sobriety, along with the guards that had remained in Wexford, I thought to be completely able to keep captain Dixon and his Drunken crew of about seventy in awe, should they shew an inclination to be refractory. When I judged all danger of a countermand was over, I set off full speed toward Wexford, to announce this reinforcement to the guards here on duty ; but about half-way I met four protestant gentlemen, with pikes, marching out to camp ; and as I had seen them before in the morning, when

they declared no intention of this kind, I expressed my surprise at their leaving the town, and insisted on their returning thither with me ; but this at first they refused, alleging that, on my quitting the town, captain Dixon had gone about the streets threatening death and destruction to all who would not immediately go out to camp, which had induced them to set off accordingly. However I altered their resolution by calming their fears, and by shewing the letter from the commander in chief to captain Dixon, suggesting that they would still be on the best duty, by joining the men that were on their return ; upon which they promised to come back and give me their advice and assistance toward the protection of the prisoners ; in whose defence I declared I would take up arms, which I had not yet done, and should I fall, I thought it would be a noble death to die on such an occasion. On this information I hastened with all speed to Wexford, from which I had been now absent about four hours, on account of all the delays I unavoidably experienced, the Three-rocks being three miles distant from the town ; but how great was my surprise and astonishment on finding the latter taken possession of by a vast multitude of people, consisting of several thousands, many of whom were well armed, and in such force as to banish all hope that the small number of Wexford-men remaining in, and returning to the town, could, in case of need, give them any effectual resistance. General Edward Roche had, as has been before mentioned, returned home, at a very late hour on the 19th, from the camp on Vinegar-hill, to collect and lead thither all the men in his neighbourhood. The number of these was now immensely increased by the vast crowds of fugitives driven, by the approach of the army, from about Gorey into the part of the country called Shilmalier. Through this quarter capt. Dixon had made an excursion, on the same day, diffusing dread and alarm, and calling on the people to assemble for general defence at Wexford ; and unfortunately he was

so successful in his efforts, that on the morning of the 20th, when the people were assembled, and that general Edward Roche thought to lead them toward Enniscorthy, they peremptorily refused to proceed, representing Wexford, from the suggestions of capt. Dixon, as more vulnerable; wherefore the general himself thought it more advisable to continue with this body of the people, now consisting chiefly of the fugitives from the northern parts of the county. These were continually relating their misfortunes, the cruelties they suffered, and the hardships they endured, to those with whom they took refuge; which roused and irritated the populace to such a pitch of fury as admits not of description, and of which none but an eye witness can have an adequate idea. All entreaties and remonstrances to sooth or calm the exasperated multitude were in vain: one man would roar out, that I had not been flogged as he had been; another pathetically related, that his house had been burned, and he had been driven to beggary with his whole family, and he would have the death of the person that injured him; a third lamented the death of his father, another that of his brother; others of their children; and the appeal was made to me, to decide on all their various sufferings and misfortunes; while they perseveringly declared, they only wanted to be avenged of those who had actually done them wrong, and I was asked, if similarly circumstanced, would I not take revenge for such injuries as theirs?

AFTER the death of Mathewson, captain Dixon and his wife proposed, that those who were to be put to death, should be brought down to the bridge, whither the mob retired. Eighteen intended for execution were first conducted from the goal, under a strong guard, headed by Dixon, flanked by the two *orange* informers, whom he wished to exhibit as the grand support of his conduct. These informers were brought into a public billiard-room on the custom-house-quay, (and not at all to the bridge, to which it is adjacent) where they underwent an examination,

at which Dixon presided. It is probable, that these informers did not give information against every one that was put to death on this occasion; but it is a certain truth, and an evident fact, that the information of these men was esteemed of such consequence, even by such a sanguinary tribunal, that their services saved their lives. The fate of the prisoners was quickly decided, on their being conducted to the bridge, as the proceedings concerning them were summary indeed. It was asked, did any one know any good action of the intended victim sufficient to save his life? and if no answer was made, the assertion of an individual of some deed against the people, was conclusive evidence of guilt, and immediately death was the consequence, on his primary denunciation by captain Dixon. Some, however, escaped with their lives, on the interference of some person stepping forward in their favour. A few were shot, but the greater number suffered by being piked, and some of those with aggravated circumstances of barbarity. All the bodies were thrown over the bridge, but neither stripped, nor their pockets rifled, which I should scarcely have believed, but that I have been positively assured, that watches and money were found upon them when afterward discovered. Captain Dixon sent from time to time for different persons to the several places of confinement, and at intervals came out to announce further discoveries from the informers. This admirably suited his hellish purpose of putting all the prisoners to death; which he might unfortunately have effected, but that providence was at length pleased to interpose, while the minds of the populace seemed wrought up to the most desperate pitch of cruelty!—The reverend Mr. Corrin, who had been absent from the town the whole of the day on particular duty, had but just returned when he was sent for by Mr. Kellett, then on his defence at the bridge. Thither the reverend gentleman instantly repaired, and, having thrown himself on his knees, entreated they might join him in prayer; when he supplicated the Almighty

ty, to shew the same mercy to the people, as they would shew to their prisoners ; and with that he addressed them in such feeling, pathetic and moving language, that he thereby saved the lives of several who had been just ordered to the bridge from the market-house by Dixon. While the rev. Mr.-Corrin was on the fatal spot, Mr. Esmonde Kyan, who had been wounded in the shoulder at the battle of Arklow, lay at the most excruciating torture, in a house at Ferrybank, on the country side of the wooden-bridge ; but on hearing what was going forward, he instantly got out of bed, ran to the fatal spot, and, by his animated conduct and address, rescued Mr. Newton King, and captain Milward, of the Wexford militia, with some others, from the fury of the populace. General Edward Roche, also, by his humane interference, snatched Mr. James Goodall and others from the jaws of death ; while different other persons of inferior note, and some even of the lower class, interposed so as to save one or other of their neighbours ; and at length it pleased God, that this horrid butchery ceased !

INTELLIGENCE had arrived there of the approach of three different armies, one of which was advanced as far as Oulard ; another had arrived at Enniscorthy, and the progressive march of the third was conspicuous the evening before from the Three-rocks, by the insurgents stationed there, who on the morning of this day proceeded to meet it. The gun-boats on the coast also made a formidable appearance, as announced by the men who had been stationed at the fort of Roslare, but who now abandoned that post and fled into Wexford, bringing the alarming news that several ships of war, and other armed vessels were approaching the harbour. By the time we had settled all matters, relative to our departure on this expedition next morning, it was advanced in the night, and the Wexford-men were flocking home from the battle of Fooks's-mill. I had then proposed to go and consult the principal inhabitants, whose co-operation and assistance were so necessary in such an underta-

king, but which I made not the least doubt of obtaining, and took my leave of his lordship and the other officers, promising to return to them early on the next morning. It was a considerable time before I could collect a sufficient number of the principal inhabitants to communicate my intentions to them; and, even when it was at length effected, their confusion was such, that it was agreed to postpone the business until early in the following morning, then to meet at captain Keugh's house, where the subject would be taken into consideration by a general assembly, which could not be so well formed at that time of the night.

ABOUT three o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th, the army under the command of general Moore, began to march from its encampment at Long-graigue, the seat of the rev. Mr. Sutton, toward Taghmon, and had proceeded but half-a-mile, when the insurgent force from the Three-rocks, led on by their general the rev. Philip Roche, appeared in view at a place called Fooks's-mill. Each party immediately commenced the attack, which lasted with various success and great obstinacy, on both sides, for four hours, when the insurgents having expended the whole of their ammunition at the very moment that it is said the troops were on the point of giving way, thought proper to retire, and made a good retreat to their original station on the Three-rocks. In this engagement, from the nature of the ground, the great body of the pike-men could not be brought into action, so that there were not more of the insurgents engaged, than about an equal number with that of the army against them, whose loss too is said to be considerably greater than theirs; but although general Moore's dispatches concerning the engagement have been published, yet the list of the killed and wounded, mentioned to have been sent with the general's letter, has been suppressed, so that I have not been able to obtain the official account of this particular. The insurgents, as usual, did not attempt to retreat until they

had fired their last shot, when two regiments under lord Dalhousie were perceived coming up to reinforce general Moore. The insurgents in the retreat, brought away with them five out of the six small cannon which they brought out with them; all of which had been fastened on common cars with ropes; and the remaining one they lost, because the car upon which it was mounted having been broken by falling into a ditch, it was left there. The Wexford-men, who were in this engagement, attended their companions to the Three-rocks, and then proceeded to the town, where they arrived late at night.

GENERAL JOHNSON had smart skirmishing with the out-posts of the insurgents from Enniscorthy on the 20th, on his arrival at Bloomfield, within a mile of Enniscorthy. Early on the morning of the 21st, a general assault was made on the insurgent force encamped on Vinegar-hill by general Lake, while the town of Enniscorthy was attacked by general Johnson, which he carried after an obstinate resistance for two hours, with great slaughter of the insurgents, whose defence of the place was most wonderful, considering that they had but a few pounds of powder to distribute to their whole force on the preceding evening; so that it is astonishing how they could venture, with such a scanty provision of ammunition, to give any opposition to an army of great force, perfectly equipped and appointed, and abundantly provided with every necessary. Even on Vinegar-hill there were but two charges for cannon; one of which was fired against the army approaching from Solsborough, and the other dismounted cannon posted at the Duffrey-gate at Enniscorthy; and although a great number of cannon and bombs were fired from the royal artillery toward Vinegar-hill, only one man was wounded and none killed by the shot from the ordnance. The insurgents notwithstanding their defenceless situation, displayed vast courage and intrepidity before they abandoned the hill, which they were at length obliged to do, and great numbers of them fell on this occasion. All

suspected persons were put to death in Enniscorthy, and several houses were set on fire ; among the rest that which had been used by the insurgents as an hospital, which, together with all the wounded men in it, were totally consumed. A free passage was left for the insurgents to retreat to Wexford, as the division of the army under general Needham, from some unaccountable reason, had not come up in time to join the battle ; and from the route this division took, it is surprising that it did not fall in with the insurgent force under general Edward Roche, who was also too late for the engagement, as he only arrived just at the commencement of the retreat of the insurgents, which, however, he covered with his men, from Darby-gap, and restrained the career of the cavalry that were in full pursuit of the insurgents dislodged from Vinegar-hill.

THE news of our arrival having quickly spread through the town, numbers of officers, yeomen and gentlemen of my acquaintance crowded around me ; some anxious to hear of their friends, while others expressed how disappointed they would be if hindred to demolish Wexford with all the concomitant horrors and atrocities usual on such dreadful and shocking occasions !—Some had the savage indecency even to mention some young ladies by name, who, they intended, should experience the effects of their brutal passion before they would put them to death ; but these intentions, they feared would be frustrated by the account I gave them of the proposal and dispatches :—others wished the extermination of all catholics !

THE insurgents were at length prevailed on, by the incessant entreaties and exertions of their chiefs, to quit the town of Wexford. They now divided themselves into two bodies : the one under the command of the rev. Philip Roche, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh ; the other, under the conduct of Messrs. Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, proceeded over the bridge to Pep-

pard's castle, where they took their station for that night.

GENERAL MOORE, although he had orders not to proceed farther than Taghmon on that day, that he might co-operate on the 21st, in the general attack on Wexford; yet from the present complexion of affairs advanced toward that town, having perceived the departure of the people from the Three-rocks; and having been also informed by captain Bourke of the peaceable disposition of the Wexford people. Some straggling wretches of country people were put to death on this triumphant occasion. All the green ornaments, that had been so conspicuously exhibited hitherto, were now torn down; and some persons, who but the moment before appeared anxious to demonstrate their friendship for the people, changed sides as quick as lightning, and endeavoured to exhibit every symptom of loyalty. General Moore, on consultation with lord Kingsborough, thought it most advisable not to let his troops into the town, which it had been determined to *annihilate* previous to the negociation, and in consequence of this circumstance, of which the army was perfectly aware, it required the utmost precaution to prevent its being plundered, sacked and destroyed, with the attendant atrocities. On the approach of the army too, all the wounded men in the hospital were put to the sword, and some of the straggling inhabitants lost their lives, notwithstanding the express orders of general Moore, that no kind of excess should be committed.

RELYING on the faith of lord Kingsborough's promises of complete protection of persons and properties, several remained in the town of Wexford, unconscious of any reason to apprehend danger; but they were soon taken up and committed to goal. The rev. Philip Roche had such confidence in these assurances, and was so certain of obtaining similar terms for those under his command, that he left his force at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way

to Wexford, unarmed coming, as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and so little apprehensive of danger, that he advanced within the lines, before he was recognised, when all possibility of escape was at an end. He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in the most ignominious manner taken up to the camp on the Wind-mill-hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled down to the goal in such a condition as scarcely to be known. The people whom he had left, in expectation of being permitted to return quietly home, waited his arrival, but at last being informed of his fate, they abandoned all idea of peace, and set off under the command of the rev. John Murphy to Fooks's-mill, and so on, through Scollagh-gap, into the county of Carlow.

From the encampment at Ballenkeele, commanded by general Needham, detachments were sent out to scour the country. They burned the catholic chapel of Bellemurrin, situate on the demesne of Ballenkeele, on which they were encamped, besides several houses in the neighbourhood. The principal of these was that of Newpark, the seat of Mr. Fitzgerald; which along with all the out-offices, haggard of corn, by far the largest in the county of Wexford, a malt-house containing fifteen hundred barrels of malt and a thousand barrels of barley, were entirely consumed; as were also the house, offices, and malt-house, containing a thousand barrels of malt, at Ballimore, belonging to Mr. Edmund Stafford, mistaken, as I have been informed, for the dwelling and property of gen. Edward Roche; besides a great number of houses of inferior note. In short, death and desolation were spread throughout the country, which was searched and hunted so that scarcely a man escaped; and the old, who were feeble and decrepit with age, and who could not therefore easily move out of the way, as well as the idiots or fools, were the victims on this occasion; as almost all such as had the use of their limbs and intellects had previously made off with the

main body of the people. The dead bodies were to be seen scattered about, with their throats cut across, and mangled in the most shocking manner. It is scarcely possible to describe all the horrors and devastations that took place, as all the atrocities of war were most woefully exhibited. The fair sex became the prey of the lustful soldiery ; and female beauty, which at all other times may be considered a blessing, now became a curse, as women paid dearly for their personal charms, which failed not to augment the general brutality of these odious and detestable deeds ! What must be the pangs of a mother on seeing her beloved favourite child, dragged from her by the ruffian hands of an unfeeling monster, glorying in his barbarity, and considering his crime meritorious in proportion to its enormity ; spreading death and disease to the utmost extent of his depraved capacity ! The Hompesch dragoons are held in peculiar remembrance on this occasion. Indeed, the ferocity of the soldiery in general was such, at this period, that the women and children, through the country, even now, are worked up to the highest pitch of horror at the sight of a military man, as bringing to their recollections all the barbarous scenes of which they had been formerly witnesses ! Notwithstanding the abominations of the vilest of pike-men, it is a well established fact, that during the period of their uncontrollable sway, no female, not even one of the wives and daughters of those whom they considered their greatest enemies, ever suffered any kind of violation from them ; and their general respect for the sex is as true as it is wonderful ; and their forbearance in this particular is as remarkably civilised as the conduct of the troops was savage, sparing neither friend nor foe in their indiscriminate and licentious brutality.

THE northern part of the county of Wexford had been almost totally deserted by all the male inhabitants, on the 19th, at the approach of the army under general Needham. Some of the yeomanry, who formerly deserted it, returned to Gorey on the 21st,

and on finding no officer of the army, as was expected to command there, they, with many others, who returned along with them, scoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houses, besides all the stragglers they met, most of whom were making the best of their way home unarmed from the insurgents, who were then believed to be totally discomfited. These transactions being made known to the great body of insurgents, encamped at Peppard's castle, on the 22d, they resolved to retaliate, and directly marched for Gorey, whither they had otherwise no intention of proceeding. The yeomen and their associates whose conduct had been so conspicuous on the day before, made some shew of resistance, having proceeded some little distance outside the town, as it were boldly to meet the force coming against them ; but upon the near approach of the insurgents, they fled back with the utmost precipitation ; and thence, accompanied by a great many others, hastened toward Arklow, but were pursued as far as Coolgreney, with the loss of forty-seven men. The insurgents had been exasperated to this vengeance, by discovering through the country as they came along, several dead men, with their skulls split asunder, their bowels ripped open, and their throats cut across, besides some dead women and children : they even met the dead bodies of two women about which the surviving children were creeping, and bewailing them, poor innocents ! with piteous cries ! These sights hastened the insurgent force to Gorey, where their exasperation was considerably augmented by discovering the bodies of nine men, who had been hanged the day before, devouring by pigs in the streets, others recently shot, and some still expiring.

AFTER the return of the insurgents from the pursuit several persons were found lurking in the town, and brought before Mr. Fitzgerald, particularly Mr. Peppard, sovereign of Gorey ; but from this gentleman's age and respectability, he was considered incapable of being accessory to the perpetration of the

horrid cruelty which provoked and prompted this sudden revenge, and he and others were saved, protected, and set at liberty. At this critical time the news of the burning of Mr. Fitzgerald's house, haggard and malt-houses, by which he lost several thousand pounds, arrived; and, had the smallest seed of rancour or cruelty existed in the mind of such a sufferer, he might have so far felt it, on this occasion, as not to restrain the insurgents from exterminating Gorey, which they were loudly proclaiming as a just retaliation for the devastation committed on so great a favourite of the people. The magnanimity and forbearance of Mr. Fitzgerald at so trying a crisis, are truly remarkable, as, forgetful of such great personal injury, he exerted his utmost endeavours to restrain the insurgents, vociferating vengeance for his wrongs, and succeeded in leading them off from Gorey; when after a slight repast, they resumed their intended route, rested that night at the White-heaps on Croghan mountain, and on the 23d set off for the mountains of Wicklow.

GENERAL LAKE, with some other general officers, remained for some time in Wexford. The goal of this town was now immensely crowded, as almost every one of the principal inhabitants were taken up and arraigned for treason. Many of them, however, were acquitted upon trial, which was by court-martial, and the greater number received protections, according to lord Cornwallis's proclamation. Capt. Keugh had remained at lord Kingsborough's lodgings, and after the surrender of the town two centinels were placed on him there for two days, when he was removed to the goal. Mr. Cornelius Grogan was taken at his seat of Johnstown, where he had remained, unconscious of any danger until conducted to prison. Mr. Bagnal Harvey had gone to his residence at Bargy-castle, having no conception that the terms, agreed upon with lord Kingsborough, would not be ratified. Indeed, so confident was he of the contrary, that he sent some fat cattle into Wexford for the use

of the army ; but learning from the messenger who drove them thither, that no conditions whatever would be obtained, he hastened with the fatal news to Mr. Colclough. This gentleman had previously taken his wife and child to one of the Saltee islands, where he thought to have weathered out the storm of the angry time in a cave, into which he had gone for concealment. Thither Mr. Harvey now also resorted ; but they were all soon discovered, and the news of their being taken arrived in Wexford while they were conveying round to the harbour in a boat. This attracted a great number of people to the quay, curious to see them brought in, and amidst this concourse Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Colclough and his lady were landed. The gentlemen were then led through the gazing multitude to the goal, where they were confined in the condemned cells.

A court-martial was instituted for the trial of prisoners on charges of treason. The Rev. Philip Roche was the first tried and condemned by this tribunal. Captain Keugh was the next put on his trial, at which he made a very able defence ; but was also condemned. The entrance of the wooden-bridge was the scene fixed on for the place of execution. The sufferers were hauled up with pulleys, made fast with ropes to an ornamental iron arch, intended for lamps, and springing from the two wooden piers of the gate next the town. The large stature of the Rev. Philip Roche caused the first rope he was hauled up with to break ; but another was soon procured, and his life was ended with double torture. The head of capt. Keugh who suffered along with him was separated from his body, and conspicuously placed on a pike over the front of the court-house. Their bodies, together with those of others executed at the same time were stripped and treated with the utmost brutality and indecency, previous to their being thrown over the bridge.

Mr. Grogan was brought to trial on the 26th, but the evidence, which he hoped to obtain of his

innocence, did not attend on account of the general apprehension that prevailed. His trial was therefore postponed, and he was remanded to goal. Mr. Harvey was then put on his trial, which lasted for the best part of the day, and ended in his condemnation. Mr. Grogan's trial was then resumed; but this he did not expect until the next day, and consequently he had not been able to procure all the necessary evidence. It was indeed proved, that he was forced to join the insurgents, but this did not prevent a sentence of his conviction: such was the idea entertained at the time of the necessity of public example! The condemnation of these gentlemen was afterwards confirmed by the Irish parliament, which passed an act of attainder against them, and a confiscation of their properties; notwithstanding that, on parliamentary enquiry into the merits of the proceedings, it was clearly proved, that the court-martial had not been even sworn: so that although their condemnation and the confiscation of their properties be sanctioned by law, yet the justice of the process is very questionable, and the investigation of it will employ the pens of future historians; particularly in the case of Mr. Grogan, who was undoubtedly sacrificed to the temper of the times. On the 27th, Messrs. Harvey, Grogan, and Mr. Patrick Prendergast, a rich maltster in Wexford were ordered out to execution. When Mr. Harvey was brought out of his cell, he met Mr. Grogan in the goal-yard, and accosted him in a feeling affectionate manner: while shaking hands with him, he said, in the presence of an officer and some of the guards, and in the hearing of several prisoners, who had crowded to the windows, "Ah! poor Grogan, you die an innocent man at all events." They were then conducted to the bridge, where they were hanged, when the heads of Messrs. Grogan and Harvey were cut off and placed upon pikes on each side of that of capt. Keugh; while their bodies, and that of Mr. Prendergast, were stript and treated with the usual brutal indecencies, before being cast over

the bridge ! Mr. Colclough was brought out to trial on the same day and condemned. On the next day he was executed, but his body, at the intercession of his lady, was given up to her to be interred. Mr. John Kelly of Killan, whose courage and intrepidity had been so conspicuous at the battle of Ross, now lay ill in Wexford, of a wound which he had received in that engagement : he was taken prisoner from his bed, tried and condemned to die, and brought on a cart to the place of execution. His head was cut off, and his body, after the accustomed indignities, was thrown over the bridge. The head, however, was reserved for other exhibitions. It was first kicked about on the custom-house-quay, and then brought up into the town, thrown up and treated in the same manner opposite the house in which his sister lodged, in order that she might view this new and savage game at foot-ball, of which when the players were tired, the head was placed in the exalted situation to which it had been condemned, above that of captain Keugh, over the door of the court-house.

DISAPPOINTED by the repulse at Hackets-town, the remaining Wexford insurgents, in conjunction with their Wicklow associates, directed their march toward Carnew, which they were resolved, if possible, to carry ; but general Needham, being informed of their approach, detached a strong body of infantry, and about two hundred cavalry, from his camp at Gorey, to intercept them. The cavalry alone, however, as the infantry were recalled, came up with the insurgents on the road to Carnew. These feigning a retreat, having timely notice of their approach, suffered the cavalry to pass, until they brought them into an ambuscade, where their guns-men were placed on both sides of the way, behind the ditches to receive them. At the first discharge they were utterly confounded, and being unable to give their opponents any annoyance, they attempted to retreat in great haste toward Carnew. But here they had to encounter another part of the plan of ambush ; for the insur-

gents rightly conjecturing, that, when foiled, they would attempt getting off in that direction, had blocked up the road with cars and other incumbrances, they were for some time exposed to the fire of the insurgents, and lost about eighty of their number, among whom were two officers, captain Giffard of the ancient Britons, and Mr. Parsons adjutant of the Ballaghkeen cavalry; the rest effected their retreat to Arklow. The detachment was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Pulestone of the ancient Britons, of whom twenty were among the slain. The animosity of the people against this regiment, which they charge with being guilty of great excesses, may be instanced in the case of a black trumpeter belonging to it who fell into their hands alive on this occasion. When seized upon, this man loudly declared, that he was a Roman Catholic, and besought them to spare him for the sake of his religion. But his deeds with which he was upbraided, were too recent and too notorious, and he obtained no quarter. The insurgents lost not a single man in this action; but they were foiled in their design upon Carnew, the garrison of which, being alarmed by the retreating cavalry, had just time to secure themselves in a malt-house before the approach of the insurgents, who, after an ineffectual attack, marched off to Killcavan-hill.

DIFFERENT court-martials were instituted in Ross, Enniscorthy, Gorey, and Newtown-Barry, and several persons were condemned and executed, and others were sentenced to transportation. Among those who were condemned to be executed, I cannot avoid noticing the case of the Rev. John Redmond a catholic priest, who, it seems, during the insurrection, had done all in his power to save the house of lord Mountnorris from being plundered, which he, in some degree effected, but not at all to the extent of his wishes. Lord Mountnorris, however, to prevent the possibility of his being supposed by any one in future a friend to catholics, sent for Mr. Redmond, upon find-

ing that he was present at the plundering of his house, desiring that he would come to him directly. The reverend gentleman, conscious of his own integrity, and apprehensive of no danger as involved in no guilt, obeyed the summons without hesitation ; but his instantaneous hasty trial, condemnation, and execution were the reward of his humane and generous exertions. His body, after death, underwent the most indecent mutilations.—But to put this innocent man's conduct in its proper point of view, I do not think I can do better than the reverend Mr. Gordon, a protestant clergyman has done in his history of the Irish rebellion.

“ Or the rebellious conduct of Redmond, coadjutor to father Francis Kavanagh, in the parish of Clough, of which I was twenty-three years curate, I can find no other proof than the sentence of the court-martial which consigned him to death. He was accused by the earl of Mountnorris of having appeared as chief among a party of rebels who committed some depredations at his lordship's house, while he alleged that his object in appearing on the occasion was to endeavour to prevent the plundering of the house, in which he had partly succeeded. Coming into Gorey on a message from the earl, seemingly unapprehensive of danger, and unconscious of guilt, he was treated as if manifestly guilty before trial, knocked down in the street, and rudely dragged by some yeomen.—I mean not to arraign the justice of the noble lord, his prosecutor, nor the members of the court-martial. The former who had rendered himself in no small degree responsible for the loyalty of the Wexfordian Romanists, had doubtless good reasons for his conduct ; and the latter could have no personal animosity against the accused, nor other unfavourable bias than what naturally arose from the turbid state of affairs, when accusation, against a Romish priest, was considered as a strong presumption of guilt. But his protestant neighbours who had not been able to escape from the rebels, assured me that while the latter were in pos-

session of the country, he was constantly hiding in protestant houses from the rebels, and that many Romanists expressed great resentment against him as a traitor to their cause. That he expected not the rebellion to be successful, appears from this, that when the wife of Nathaniel Stedman, (one of my protestant parishoners) applied to him to baptize her child, he told her, that he acceded to her request merely lest the child should die unbaptized, in the necessary absence of her minister, on condition that she should promise to make the proper apology for him to me on my return to the parish."

It is a melancholy reflexion to think how many innocent persons were condemned. I have heard of numbers, of whose innocence the smallest doubt cannot be entertained, whose conduct merited reward instead of punishment; yet they fell victims to the purest sentiments of philanthropy, which dictated their interference; these have been perverted by their enemies, who are also those of the human race, into crimes utterly unpardonable.

A court-martial, of which lord Ancram was president, was instituted at Wexford for the trial of persons accused of treason; and contrary to the expectation and wishes of the committee for procuring evidence, many were acquitted. Lord Ancram however soon left the town, and his departure was much regretted by the people; but his lieutenant-colonel sir James Fowlis, of the Mid-Lothian cavalry, succeeded him as president of the court-martial. To say merely that he acquitted himself with honour and integrity, would not be doing adequate justice to his merits. I believe no judge ever sat on a bench, that displayed more judgment, discrimination and mercy in selecting the innocent and misled from the criminal and the guilty; and his conduct inspired so much confidence throughout the country, as to induce such as were conscious of integrity to submit to trial, which they would not otherwise dare to do, from a well-founded opinion of the rancour of their

accusers, who attempted at first to warp, and afterward to counteract his upright intentions, which those who experienced them can alone appreciate. Was the character of Irishmen such as too many have been led, from misrepresentation, to believe, would such a dignified character choose Ireland as his place of residence? Does it not rather appear that the result of numerous trials, not only convinced him for the instant, but even left a lasting impression on his mind, that the people of Ireland were goaded into rebellion, notwithstanding the unnatural calumnies of those whose prejudice and bigotry urge them to revile their country!!!

I cannot omit here mentioning the case of Mr. Walter Devereux, who having obtained protections from several general officers, had gone to Cork to embark for Portugal; he was there taken up, tried, condemned and executed. Mr. Gibson, a yeoman and wealthy protestant shopkeeper, and Mr. William Kearney, an extensive brewer, were summoned and attended at his trial, and proved that he was in Wexford, and even in goal, at the very time some soldiers of the Wexford militia were shot thirty miles from that town; and the principal charge against him was that he gave orders and was present at their execution, which some men of that regiment were hardened enough to swear!!! I myself saw him in Wexford on the alleged day. He was also accused of aiding and abetting the abomination at Scullabogue, and this charge was similarly supported by the testimony of some soldiers' wives! and yet it is an undoubted fact, that he was all that day engaged at the battle of Ross, where he displayed the most heroic bravery and courage, qualities inconsistent with the odious crime it was falsely sworn he had perpetrated!!! But what puts the falsehood of the facts alleged against him beyond all question is, that after his execution another Mr. Devereux was taken up on the discriminating sagacity of the same witnesses, who prosecuted the former to death; but who now, (as they said) discovered the *right* Devereux.

Chapels burned in the county of Wexford and diocess of Ferns, with the dates of their respective conflagration.

Boolevogue	27th May, 1798	Ballegarret	15th Jan. 1799
Maglass	30th ———	Ballinamona-	
Ramsgrange	19th June ———	beg	18th ———
Drumgold	21st ———	Askamore	24th Feb. ———
Ballemurrin	do. ———	Murntown	24th Apr. ———
Gorey	24th Aug. ———	Monamoling	3d May ———
Annacurragh	2d Sept. ———	Kilrush	15th ———
Crane	17th ———	Marshalstown	8or9 June ———
Rock	12th Oct. ———	Munfin	do. ———
Balleduff	19th ———	Crossabeg	24th ———
Riverchapel	do. ———	Killeneerin	29th ———
Monaseed	25th ———	Monageer	1st July, ———
Clogogue	26th ———	Kiltayley	1st Oct. ———
Killeveny	11th Nov. ———	Glanbryan	13th March ———
Ferns	18th ———	Kaim	3d Sept. 1800
Oulard	28th ———	Ballimackesey	———
Castletown	———	Courtenacuddy	13 Aug. 1801.

The protestant church of Old Ross was burned on the second of June, 1798.

THESE and many other shocking deeds could not have been constantly reiterated throughout the country, were the magistrates willing to do their duty; and it is astonishing that the country gentlemen could so far forget their own real interests, which are superseded by the narrow and prejudiced notions with which they are blindfolded. It will scarcely be believed that such neglect was possible; and the gentlemen themselves will lament it hereafter, when they come to their sober recollections, and feel the melancholy effects of religious prejudice, in the inevitable consequences of leaving such acts unpunished; which although they did not actually commit themselves, yet they have encouraged them by their inactivity and negligence.

It is to be observed, that the insurrection was completely suppressed in the county of Wexford, in June 1798, previous to, and during which period, five

catholic chapels appear to have been burnt, and the remaining conflagrations took place when the country was not disturbed by any other transactions but these enormities, perpetrated when the utmost tranquillity otherwise prevailed. Various depredations and excesses were also committed through the country. Murders were prevalent, houses were burnt, and notices were posted on the doors of many catholics, desiring them to quit their habitations, of a similar tendency with those in the county of Armagh in the year 1795. The notices in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, prevalent in 1798, 1799, and 1800, were conceived pretty nearly in the following terms; "*A——B——we give you notice in six days to quit—or if you don't by G—— we will visit your house with fire, and yourself with lead.—We are the grinders, Moll Doyle's true grand-sons.*"

COURTS-MARTIAL continued to sit in Wexford for nearly three years after the insurrection, although the regular assizes and general goal delivery were resumed in the spring of 1799. Prisoners confined in the goal of Wexford were parcelled out into different lots, to be tried by the civil and military tribunals, according to the discrimination of the gentlemen of the country! others have been arraigned at an assizes, and on shewing legal cause, had their trials put off to the next, when the judge has called for prisoners not produced, although returned on the crown-book, then it has been discovered that they had been handed over to a military tribunal, and according to their sentences had been transported or hanged. With the utmost respect and veneration, I look up to that great bulwark of the constitution, TRIAL BY JURY; and shall always esteem juries less liable to bias, than any other mode of trial. However, it so came to pass in the county of Wexford, from various occurrences that took place, that many prisoners preferred to be tried by a *military* rather than a *civil* tribunal, which the conduct of sir James Fowles contributed to inculcate. It would however, be great injustice not

to mention that the judges of the realm who presided in the criminal court in Wexford, distinguished themselves by their benevolent humanity, and the most liberal construction of the amnesty bill ; and whenever religious prejudice or party spirit broke out, they were not backward in expressing their dissatisfaction ; they supported their just judgment with manly dignity, and by their recommendations rescued some from execution, on whom the laws of the land obliged them to pronounce sentence, and thus were actuated by the godlike virtues of justice and mercy. I most sincerely hope no other opportunity may ever occur of making any comparison between *courts-martial* and *trial by jury*. God grant that juries will ever hold in their minds the true spirit of impartiality, and then we shall ever consider them as the true basis of a free constitution.

ANOTHER kind of depredators made their appearance in the county of Wexford in the course of the winter of 1798 and 1799 : they assembled in the wood of Kilaughrim, between Enniscorthy and Scollaghgap, and were denominated among other appellations "*the babes of the wood*." Independent of some outstanding insurgents, deserters from different regiments associated in this band ; and they levied small contributions throughout the country. Those immediately in their vicinity were to supply their quota in provisions ; while those at a distance were called upon for money, which was supplied in general without opposition, to avoid greater violation ; as they, for the most part, behaved civilly if freely given, and did not at all pursue the merciless conduct of the depredators already noticed.

DIFFERENT military detachments were sent out from Ross and Enniscorthy, and these endeavoured to surround the extensive woods of Kilaughrim, supposed to contain them, but their efforts proved fruitless, as they never could come up with the *babes in the wood* ; who generally had a rendezvous in the night, and dispersed towards morning, into such a

variety of lurking places, that but few of them were apprehended, and though several plans for their annihilation were contrived, they all proved ineffectual. The activity of brigade-major Fitzgerald was again called forward, and he brought them to a consent of surrender; but, however, since the recall of general Hunter, who would have immediately put a final stop to their proceedings. (His absence on this occasion was productive of serious evil;) for instead of the *babes of the wood* surrendering on condition of being suffered to enlist in the army, they continued their predatory system, during which they were occasionally visited by Holt and Hackett, and some of their associates; but most of them at last surrendered to capt. Robinson of the South Cork militia. Some of these were sent to Prussia, others enlisted into different regiments and some were executed at Newtown-barry. A few who did not surrender, not thinking it prudent to continue in their old haunts, abandoned the county of Wexford, and joined the marauders in the county of Wicklow.

My real object and earnest wishes are for conciliation; but if a doubt can possibly arise respecting my statements, I can only say that I could detail more numerous enormities than I have, and of which I entertain as little doubt as of those I have related. I have therefore confined myself to facts and circumstances vouched to me beyond the possibility of doubt, for which I can produce good authorities, and on this occasion limit my narrative to my native district, where my local and personal knowledge were least liable to deception or misinformation; and should the members of both houses of the imperial parliament deem it necessary, in their wisdom, to investigate the truth decisively, I will stake my existence, that my relation shall be found, on an impartial scrutiny, extremely moderate.

TO THE READER.

FROM the Appendix to Mr. Hays' History, the Editor has extracted the following speech of Captain Sweetman, illustrative of the depressed state of Ireland, and the keen sensibilities which for five or six years previous to the insurrection appear to have accompanied the impolitic degradation of the Roman Catholics in that kingdom.—Other documents which follow, taken from the same book, will no doubt, to the curious reader, be considered worthy of perusal.

The Editor has closed his appendix to Hays narrative with some further particulars of the bloody scene at the bridge in Wexford—The account of it at page 135, by a mistake omitted some interesting particulars.—Whilst we abhor the cruelties with which the government desolated Ireland at that melancholy period, our sympathy must be highly awakened at the distressful and sanguinary deeds perpetrated by the Insurgents at the bridge.—The horrid law of retaliation in civil wars frequently provokes atrocious actions which are a stain to humanity.

THE
S P E E C H

OF

EDWARD SWEETMAN,

CAPTAIN OF A LATE INDEPENDENT COMPANY,

AT A

MEETING OF THE FREEHOLDERS

OF THE

COUNTY OF WEXFORD,

CONVENED BY THE SHERIFF,

ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1792,

*To take into consideration " Mr. EDWARD BYRNE'S
" letter, recommending a plan of delegation to the ca-
" tholics of Ireland, in order to prepare an humble
" petition to the legislature."*

MR. SHERIFF,

I RISE with a diffidence proceeding from the magnitude and awfulness of the subject, not from respect to the resolutions I have heard, which I deem exceptionable in every part; a circumstance which the silence of those who bring them forward would seem to acknowledge. I implore your attention whilst I deliver some thoughts which are the fruit of my best researches, my honestest feelings, and the unextinguishable love I bear this ill-fated country. I shall not consider the language or grammar of Mr. Byrne's letter—it is beneath the dignity of this meeting, and this great question, to descend to an altercation with inquisitors of words and dissectors of syllables: I shall enter into the subject at large, and speak to the scope and object of the letter, as it affects Ireland, and as it is the expression of catho-

lic hopes and desires. You will not expect brilliant remarks and exquisite deductions of reasoning from a man born *a victim to the slavery laws*, and driven at an early period into foreign climes for prohibited, imperfect education and *scanty bread*. I shall speak like a soldier, with candour and with frankness, yet with respect and a fear of offending, unmoved by slander, uninfluenced by any thing but truth. Truth is libel, faction, sedition, and treason in the eyes of those who live by its opposite, but it is the only criterion of honesty, the only basis of lasting settlement to your country, and every lover of it should utter it with courage, and hear it with patience. I belong to no party; I am an Irishman; I care as little for those who are in as for those who are out: I am the humble, but the sincere and unbought advocate of a woe-worn people. I therefore conjure you to hear me, and forgive my inaccuracies and inexperience in speaking. I know that honored names, illustrious patriots, characters which Ireland must ever revere and love, men who led her to freedom and to fame, one of whom (*Mr. Ogle*) I behold in this assembly with many mixed sensations, and who won the principle of prosperity from our *common tyrants*, a principle which remains a dead letter without the union of your people; I know, I say, that some of these differ in opinion with the persons whom I take to be the best and most enlightened friends of Ireland: I know this, and I lament it, and in it I lament the deplorable inconsistency of human nature, with the same poignancy that I lament the unaccountable but most certain fact, that the wise, the virtuous, the philosophic, the magnanimous Julian was a persecutor. In the face of those men whom I revere, as I hope I should in the face of death, I venture to stand forward the advocate of this woe-worn people, because I think it is for the honor of the Irish crown, for the credit and consistency of protestantism, for the prosperity and fame of your country, that British privileges should be restored to all, who are the support-

ers of British and Irish freedom. I wish for equal fate and equal freedom to every loyal subject in his majesty's dominions. Upon no other terms do I wish Ireland connected with any country. Upon *those conditions* I wish it for ever confederated with England. Those objects cannot be attained till catholics are *emancipated*, and catholics cannot be emancipated till they obtain the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of *trial by jury*. Whilst their liberties, their properties, and their lives are at the mercy of those over whom they have no controul, nor can acquire a controul, it will not be contended the catholics are free. Taxed without being represented, bound without their consent, and tried by their *superiors* the protestants, and not by their peers, their situation is the very definition of slavery, unmitigated, unqualified by any thing, but a fleeting liberality which may perish with the fashion of the hour.

I have said it was for the honor of the Irish crown, that catholics should be *emancipated*, because I conceive that honor to be deeply interested in, and inseparably interwoven with the question. The honor of the Irish crown has been perpetually violated by a *perpetual breach* of faith with the Irish, ever since our English ancestors first landed in this island. They were induced to come hither by a tyrant and a ravisher, and their political conduct and your's (for we have been all guilty alike) has never once belied the principles of their introducer. Henry the second, granted the Irish the common law of England, and they gratefully received and swore to the observance of it. They in justice, became entitled to the benefit of that law.—Instead of this, every means which fraud could invent, avarice suggest, or violence enforce were employed to plunder and destroy the brave and simple aborigines of the isle, whilst the duty of their kings, whom they had sworn to obey, and who from that instant were bound to protect them, slumbered or rather presided over these

cruel outrages upon human nature. Sir John Davis says, the old Irish were out of the *protection of the law*, so that any Englishman might oppress, spoil, or murder them with impunity. Sir John was certainly possessed of a better understanding, and had more honesty than most Englishmen, who have ever blessed us with their presence in this island: yet he was an *Englishman, that is, a foe to Irish freedom*, and wished to throw the whole blame of those horrible and absurd oppressions, as Hume phrases them, upon the English settlers. Those settlers were guilty of innumerable villainies to the ancient Irish; yet they wished not that their enmities should be immortal, like modern settlers, but sought at last to bury all animosity in the mutual peace and harmony of a final coalition and incorporation. What did the English-Irish king of the day? Alarmed at this insipient incorporation, and prospect of happiness held out to the people, he dispatches his grandson, Lionel, duke of Clarence, to counteract it, and to revive the dying embers of civil discord. This prince passed the famous statutes of Kilkenny, so much extolled by England, and the slaves of England, that once more sowed the seeds of that everlasting hostility, which divided the sons of Ireland from each other, and has subsisted in one horrid shape or other to this very day. The English settlers inflamed by those diabolical laws, became the executioners of English vengeance and hatred, and the base procurers to English passions. The proscribed natives were driven into rebellion, and then dispossessed of their property for the unavoidable effects of the crimes of their oppressors. You see I feel little propensity to canonize the vices and follies of my ancestors, like some noble lords,* who might justify the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day and the fires of Smithfield upon the same silly principle of mistaken pride. Near four hundred years passed away, during this dreadful

* Lords Enniskillen and Aldborough.

scene of misery; rapine and blood, in all which period, every virtue was invoked, whilst every crime was perpetrated. The sword of war was at length *sheathed* and the sword of justice commenced the work of *extermination*. The English now availed themselves of every chicanery of law to *oust* the natives from their remaining lands. They did this without danger, for they did it with fraud, by the safe and bloodless methods of statutable plunder. In these iniquitous proceedings they were sanctioned by their king, the king of Ireland! This royal miscreant confiscated six entire counties without having found or looked for an evidence of guilt, whilst he boasted of his descent from the ancient inhabitants whom he spoiled. Subsequent kings, have not been less faithless to Ireland. The *insincerity* and *tyranny* of the blessed martyr—the *profligacy* and ingratitude of Charles the second—the holy impositions—the *cowardice* and bigotry of James have been all equally fatal to—all equally levelled against Ireland. Your glorious deliverer's open and avowed suppression of our native and *favourite* manufacture will be no recommendation to any body who is a lover of Ireland. That he confirmed you in your estates, is partly true: but it is much more true, that you dearly bought that advantage by the sacrifice of the independence, trade, commerce, manufactures, prosperity, and name of your country. He drove a DUTCH BARGAIN with you, and you bartered your freedom for a paltry consideration. You and the catholics since have been set at variance, in order to govern you with a more easy iniquity, contrary to the duty and honor of your kings—the solemn faith of treaties has been *violated* by the house of Hanover, in the first of George the second, by which the catholics were deprived of the elective franchise, their unalienable right—the price of their blood—the honorable condition of their capitulation at Limerick.—I therefore say, it is for the honor of the Irish crown, that King George the third should repair the wrongs of his predecessors to a loyal and unfor-

fortunate race : for though he is not the original author of these wrongs, yet as the King never dies, he is in some degree chargeable with the wrongs continued under his government, and stands accountable in his reputation for the evil he is at no pains to prevent. The recommendation of this late act of justice from the throne, will become him full as well as the recommendation of charter schools : he should at least remember, that *allegiance* and *protection* are reciprocal : he should bear in mind, that he no longer deserves to be a King, who systematically ceases to *be just* to millions of his subjects.

THE credit of protestantism and its consistency is equally involved in this great question of catholic emancipation. The protestants abandoned the Roman catholic religion for one fundamental reason amongst others : because they pronounced its followers to be persecutors upon principle, and to want charity, that grand desideratum in Ireland, without which religion itself is rather a curse than a blessing. They should now abandon the protestant religion for the same reason, if they are true to their original principles : for the protestants of Ireland have been persecutors—unrelenting, inquisitorial persecutors, for upwards of two hundred years. But the spirit of neither religion is persecution—bad priests, bad ministers, bad parliaments and bad kings have perverted the principles of both, for the purpose of fixing a lawless yoke on the necks of their fellow-creatures. *Sanctis nominibus referre imperium*, has been their maxim.—Good protestants and good catholics have ever reprobated these sanctified iniquities. The worthy cardinal Pole, in the reign of the sanguinary queen Mary, though a catholic upon principle, recommended toleration : bishop Gardiner, though ready to conform to any religion for interest, taught that persecution was lawful. The history of the Jewish and the christian religions, incontrovertibly proves the truth of that axiom in the schools ; that what is best, when corrupted, becomes worst.—The purer the worship the more abominable has been the perse-

cution it gave rise to, and the more corrupt the morality practised in its name. The name of God has been the watch-word for the abominations of man. The religion of the Jews was pure and sublime—their manners and disposition detestable:—the religion of the ancient Egyptians was absurd and impious—their manners and government were the glory of humanity and model of nations. The same moral mischief I have described amongst the Jews, must unquestionably be produced again, when more trust is reposed in faith than in charity ; in profession, than good works. The knave professes any thing—the honest man practises without profession—a poet, who knew man and woman well, writes :

Whoever's faith is than his neighbour's more,

If man, believe him rogue.——

Your popery laws engender and propagate this evil with a foul increase.—They punish a belief in catholics, which being harmless, should be allowed without the infliction of disabilities, and they condemn principles which catholics have abjured in words, and ever proved to be false charges by their actions. You give the reward of honesty, loyalty and patriotism—I mean the right of citizenship—to *oaths*, to nugatory declarations and *abjurations*. For a bare recantation of the faith of his fathers and hard anti-christain swearing, puts your catholic neighbour instantly upon a footing with yourself, whilst all the virtues which Christ or Socrates ever taught or practised, would leave him a *slave* without it. Do you not daily see the effect of these laws? Does it not require great fortitude in an honest man to become a convert, and expose himself to the obloquy and suspicion of both parties? Are not the generality of those who apostatize to your religion the basest of mankind? Do they not slanderously abuse, and rancorously persecute the wretches they have forsaken? And yet, those creatures are caressed and courted, whilst *honest catholics* are despised, and *trampled* on! Thus your laws become a premium to vice—a penalty on

virtue. Judge then, if the continuation of this vile system can do credit to the protestant religion. No! —it takes from you at once all pretensions to protestantism and christianity.

It is equally fatal to the prosperity and fame of your country in every particular. It has been truly said, that oppression is a *smothered warfare*: it annihilates the peace and comfort of society. Can the protestant esteem the catholic he dooms to slavery? Can the catholic love his oppressor? They are both hypocrites if they pretend to it. They must in the present state of things most inevitably hate and fear one another. It is the law of nature, which laughs to scorn the unnatural institutions of man, and what can you expect from such a situation? Does not the tranquility of your country hang by a thread, and are you still determined to leave it in this feverish tremulous existence? You have been bred in a contempt for catholics, a contempt originally instilled by your oppressors, — the English, and which they are by no means sparing of to yourselves. And indeed none of us have been totally wronged by our kind and affectionate sister: for we have not respected ourselves. America has respected herself, and therefore she is respected. She has performed a very arduous task: she has taught Englishmen manners. But the English have grossly deceived you in their description of your countrymen. They have refused them credit for every good quality, and fixed the stigma of every bad one upon them. They have denied them courage and understanding, that they might persuade them and the world that they had neither sense to perceive, nor spirit to assert their rights. But I tell you again, they have grossly deceived you. There is not in *Europe* a nobler peasantry than the peasantry of *Ireland*, the great body of the people you have enslaved. The English began their system of calumny against the Irish, not before they began to despoil them. Had they reported them as an innocent people, they would have wanted a pretext for their un-

doing. You will find the proof of this in the venerable Bede, who loads them with the highest praise, and the lying Giraldus Cambrensis, who covers them with foul reproach. Sir John Davis acknowledges this race of men to be endued with extraordinary abilities of mind and body; and there is no people under heaven who love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish. The enlightened doctors Young and Campbell do them the same justice. The immortal Swift, in a posthumous work which has lately appeared, declares that the common Irish who understand English, have a much better taste for reason and raillery, than the English of the same description. Lord Chesterfield and Adam Smith call them the most able-bodied and handsome men in Europe. Camden testifies, that they are incredibly active, *ingenious* and *warlike*. British adjutants inform you that they are made soldiers sooner than any subjects in the three kingdoms; and America, Hindostan and Europe bear witness to the ardour and firmness of their courage. See then the gallant race of men you have to govern, and reflect how you have governed them! You have endeavoured to unman them, and reduce them to the level of the beasts that perish. Bereft by law of almost every stimulus to industry, precluded from education, foreign and domestic, from conjugal connection with their favoured brethren, from every blessing civil and political, it is a miracle that they have retained any thing human but the shape. The *prototype of your policy*, Machiavel, in the eighth chapter of his Prince, lays it down as a maxim, that cruelty may be necessary in a recent settlement acquired by war and crimes, but if prolonged beyond that necessity, that it ultimately proves the ruin of its upholders. You have outstripped your model: take care how you verify his prophetic observation. When the city of Sparta was overthrown by an earthquake, the Helots surveyed the visitation with rapture, and redoubled the horrors of the calamity. Your protestant settlement is secure beyond

the probability, nay the possibility of dangers, if you do not continue the temptation, and the language of the constitution might add THE DUTY to uproot it, in the hearts of those whom you mean to destroy. You have nothing to fear from those miserable beings whose ancestors estates the chance of war delivered into your hands one hundred and thirty-eight years since. Most of them have perished in exile and in want. Some of them are fighting the battles of foreign kings, being incapacitated even from DYING for their own. Their sad remains are the porters of your towns, the clowns of your country, and beggars of your streets. They do not look for power; they ask but leave to die. The catholics have given you every security which the most solemn declarations can give: you have a much better security in their uniform demeanor, and still a better in their interest, that interest

*Which like the sword of kings,
Is the last reason of all things.*

It is the interest of every honest and independant mind in Ireland, that the smothered warfare of oppression should cease, that the feelings, the prejudices, the passions, the faculties of all should be collected into one common focus to cheer, reanimate and illumine this aggrieved, palsied, and long benighted country. Have you not had enough of vengeance and petty despicable monopoly, and are you still resolved to persist in it even at the expence of your own well-being and honour? Is not your country a prey to foreigners through the imbecility entailed upon it, by emasculating four-fifths of your people? Were the provisoes, indulgencies, and mortmains of popery in any degree so pernicious as the ruin and ignominy of English influence? Impositors delude you, whilst they are practising ancient villainies under new names. Does not this influence yearly drain you of two-thirds of your whole revenue? Does it not send undeserving viceroys to rule over you to the degradation of your own nobility, many of

whom were known in Europe long before the great majority of the present English nobility had crawled from their original obscurity? Does it not quarter the insignificant followers of those insignificant viceroy, the buffoons, panders and parasites of a *corrupted court*, the *trash* and *refuse* of another land upon the most productive spots of your island? Does it not exalt the most unprincipled and shameless politicians to the very highest stations, and for what? for reviling your country and denying its independence.*

* If such a man as I have here portrayed, had not carried the audacious impurities of the state to the judgment-seat, but administered law in justice and in mercy as became his great abilities, the circumstance should be a draw-back on the detestation of his countrymen, it should take but little from the distrust of the character. *Nemo unquam imperium flagitio quæsitum bonis artibus exercuit.*

This alludes, it is presumed, to the late Earl of Clare. He was the son of a Councillor Fitzgibbon, who had been originally educated for an Irish Priest at St. Omers. The father became afterwards a distinguished lawyer at the Irish bar, and his son inherited the estate derived from the father's success, of about £4000 a year, sterling. This considerable fortune, seconded by eminent talents as a lawyer, raised him to the high office of Chancellor of Ireland.

Fitzgibbons was the first Irishman to whom the policy of England intrusted this exalted office.—The gratification of an insatiable ambition made him prostrate all justice at the shrine of ministerial policy; the interest of England, regardless of his native country's claims, ruled the genius and powers of this miserable man.

He was the first Irish judge, distinguished by a marked partiality from the bench, friendly to those who espoused his political views, and hostile to all who stood opposed to them.

One eminent law character, in a lucrative practice, was driven from the chancery court by the dark and gloomy frowns of an unworthy judge. The celebrated Curran, offended with Fitzgibbon, when both were members of the House of Commons, sent the latter a challenge—After the exchange of a fire, without injury to either of the combatants, the spirited little Councillor insisted on going on—this his antagonist declined, and he left the field with the bitter taunt from Curran, that "he always had suspected him to be a coward, and he was now convinced he was one."

Has it not made you a bye-word amongst nations, and the very sound of your name a subject of laughter? Are not your *mines unexplored*, your fisheries neglected, your trade and commerce restricted, your *manufactures unprotected*, your lands unimproved, your country denuded of its wood and shorn of its beauty and means of naval strength, nay, your very character debased through this influence? Whence the want of employment in Ireland, whence the rack-rents of absences, whence the squalid *appearance* and concomitants of poverty? Whence the wanderings of your people to every corner of the earth, the alarming emigrations of *northern industry to America*, of southern hardihood to England, France and Spain, to the East and to the West? Whence I say, does all this proceed, but from the wide wasting pestilential influence of England? Even now it is clandestinely aiming at the extinction of your parliament and your lately recovered name. I myself heard the marquis of Downshire express his ardent wish for a *union* in the house of lords of England! Ireland appears loosened from its foundations by this influence, and floats at the breath of every bold and flagitious English undertaker, who is sent to defame and to devour it. She might most happily maintain more than

Few men have been the authors of so much evil to a natal soil as the Earl of Clare. No doubt his baleful councils generated, or at least contributed much to the production of the insurrection of 1798, the subject of this history. The close of such a life corresponded with the tenor of it.—A personal misfortune, humiliating in its nature, and still more so in its consequences, occasioned by a fall, obliged him to connive at irregularities in domestic life, which he could not but deplore if he retained any thing of the dignity or spirit of a man. The general detestation at his funeral and afterwards, was evinced by *extraordinary acts* out of the power of the government to prevent, but which disclosed a state of the public mind, which the general indignation had never before reached, at the death of the vilest malefactor; or the most profligate of those worthless political characters who have rendered their memories infamous and displaced their country.

double her population, were she not inhibited from availing herself of the bounties of heaven. But your Draconian laws against popery, the loathsome but unacknowledged offspring of the influence I have been describing, have worn her natives down to a degree of wretchedness not to be equalled by the wretchedness of slave or freeman in any quarter of the globe: they have given your country the melancholy pre-eminence amongst nations of being supreme in misery. But she has borne her adversities with fortitude. You may thank your stars, that the suicide principle of those laws has not utterly eradicated the spirit of your people. If it had, you would have looked in vain for freedom. Had they stood aloof in the day of trial, or joined with your enemies, had they not listened to the dictates of their own virtues, but followed your example in wounding themselves through the heart of their country, you had still been in bondage. They disdained the inglorious example, they pledged their lives and their fortunes for your freedom, and **YOU PLEDGE YOURS** to hold them in chains! They are a conquered people, you say: but when they resigned their power in 1691, after their glorious defence of Limerick, they stipulated for freedom with arms in their hands. What did you? When you got them in your power, you stripped them of their arms, and robbed them of their freedom—**YOU KEPT NO FAITH WITH CATHOLICS!** They ask for restitution therefore, and they would be unworthy of it if they did not. They ask for the liberty their ancestors planted and preserved in this island: for nine-tenths of them are descendants of those English who first won the country by fraud and by force from the ancient Irish. They and their forefathers are your benefactors, and you are still bent upon remaining their destroyers; for slavery is the destruction of the people. Such being their conduct and yours, is it decorous to talk of their ingratitude? Would it not be more decorous to retrieve the honor you have lost by your own? You say they want to intimidate you in-

to a compliance with their humble supplications. The assertion is falsified by the fact. They presented a petition to parliament praying for a share of that freedom they contribute to support. They did not make the compliance of parliament the condition of their allegiance: they have evinced the contrary by the unvaried tenor of their conduct; for though refused in no very flattering manner, amidst scoffs, and scorn, and indignity, their enemies have not gained their point: they have not driven them into violence: they have remained unaltered in their loyalty, their love of order, and obedience to the law.—A brave general in your house of commons invites these defenceless citizens to draw their swords, and make their appeal to heaven. These oppressed men have no swords, and if they had, they would only draw them in defence of their King and country. They and their fathers have so demeaned themselves in every vicissitude of fortune. I wish this great officer may be as well disposed. Shame on the man, who can thus mock at the unfortunate, and pour new misery into the agonizing bosom of a tortured generation!

THAT the *catholics* are not prepared for freedom, is a proposition unfounded in reason and contradicted by the experience of every age and the feelings of every heart. Liberty which is equal justice to all, is taught by nature to all—the savage and the barbarian feel its sacred impulses as completely as the philosopher. The liberty of England originated in the woods of Germany. We know that the Germans were not a lettered race—they had no property but what was in common: yet these sturdy barbarians were at least as free, and as zealous assertors of their independence, as their descendants the English. Many of the mighty barons, who extorted magna charta from John, were unable to read or to write; yet the rude feelings of their untutored breasts fitted them admirably to wrest that palladium of happiness from a tyrant. I hope we shall hear no more of this insidious and hypocritical cant, invented by the designing to mislead the unwary. To be fit for freedom, it is suffi-

ent to be born, and it affords an additional aptitude to be bred a christian—for I hope it is unnecessary to inform you, that the service of the catholic God and yours is perfect freedom. I should imagine the requisite knowledge for choosing a representative does not lie far beneath the surface : surely a catholic has as good an opportunity of learning the acts of wisdom, justice, humanity and fortitude which distinguish a neighbouring gentleman, and recommend him to notice at an election, as a protestant : or do the magic syllables of protestantism bestow sense and sensibility, while the execrated name of papist bereaves its unhappy owner of every organ of feeling and understanding? Away with such fooleries! Were their absurdity not lost in the immensity of their mischief, they would be as contemptible as the dreams of dotards. If your execrable laws had unfitted the catholics for freedom, freedom only could recreate that moral and political fitness your laws had done away. Slavery is the worst of all possible schools to teach the principles of liberty: you would not manacle the limbs of the man you would enable to start in the race! Be not afraid of overpowering the tender optics of your brethren with the new light of liberty: the eagle-eye of nature looks steadily at the sun of liberty in every stage and every condition of this many coloured and wearied life.

It is also said the catholic committee* is an unlawful meeting. Those who say so, do not understand the law, or misinterpret it with an evil intent. No meeting is unlawful which is peaceably met for a lawful purpose, whether the mode of meeting be bor-

* Posterity will honour the memories of those prudent and undaunted citizens of Dublin, who, unshaken by the secession of their deceived fellow-sufferers, brought those very men back to their opinion by the irresistible force of truth, and cast the foundation of catholic emancipation amidst the intrigues, and lies, and calumnies, and menaces of their enemies. Their names will live when court prostitutes and hirelings and slaves will be forgotten.

rowed from Constantinople or Paris, whether from the empire of slavery or the seat of democracy. The catholic committee is not acknowledged by the law, *totidem verbis*, but every thing is allowed by the law, which is a quiet assertion of right, and hurts no man. Now the object of this meeting is not as has been foolishly or maliciously said, to consolidate the power of the catholics, but to ascertain their utter impotence to protect themselves, to concentrate their miseries and their tears, to lay them at the foot of the throne, to supplicate parliament to give freedom, consequence, and union to Ireland. They hope it is no offence to wish to add dignity, strength, and stability to their country, and they are sure petitioning is lawful.—The catholics labour under grievances, and there are two ways of removing them. The one is by war; the other by peace. They seek not relief through the calamities of war: they adore their country. They desire that *peace* may be the harbinger of their freedom. That peace can be preserved by no better means, than by quietly assembling and humbly proposing their grievances to the consideration of the legislature. The legislature may refuse granting the prayer of their petition, but they have no right to spurn the begging, prostrate, and obedient subject from their door.—You are angry with these miserable people for stating their numbers at three millions: you are then angry, that they were born! You are then angry that they tread the earth, breathe the air, or survey the heaven. By that heaven I conjure you to dismiss those deadly sentiments of shocking uncharitableness from your otherwise generous hearts, and dare to have the magnanimity to forgive those you have so deeply and so cruelly injured. *Be united, be Irishmen, be free.**

*. Capt. Sweetman, whose eloquence and powerful reasoning, in this celebrated speech, evinces the possession of that masculine understanding and those prodigal gifts of nature, of which he affirms his countrymen are not destitute, appears in this sentence to have breathed a prophetic spirit.

I hear a great deal of the favours already conferred upon catholics, and that their emancipation should be gradual.—The catholics are a grateful people, but the fashion of the day and your own exigencies gave them most of what they have got, and your liber-

The grand union of the United Irishmen, five or six years afterwards, will astonish posterity. This union might be compared to the pyramid.—Its broad base at one time comprehended the great mass of the people, and the executive power terminated in a point—the members of it only knew each other in partial divisions, of Townships and Parishes. Deputies formed a Baronial Committee—from the Baronial Committee was formed a county one—these sent deputies which became provincial, and from the last was formed the Irish Directory, which had its meetings in Dublin the metropolis of Ireland. Lord Fitzgerald, brother of the Duke of Leinster was one of this body, as was also Mr. Oliver Bond, who died in confinement.

If Mr. Cope had not betrayed his party, the Irish insurrection would probably have had a very different issue.—The seizure of the directors in consequence of his treachery to the cause—the death of Lord Fitzgerald—the premature rising of the West which forced the North of Ireland into the revolt against the judgment of the leading inhabitants, may be all considered as having contributed to the failure of this great enterprise. Nor had the base, selfish and corrupt conduct of the French Directory an inconsiderable effect about that period in depressing the national spirit.—Men of reflection and understanding began seriously to meditate on such unexpected depravity.—When they contemplated *even success*, they could not avoid beholding power transferred from a corrupt court, to intriguing, corrupt and *dishonest* men. It is said the British government, in 1798, forwarded, through the channel of the post office, printed on handsome paper, to the most influential persons, copies of the correspondence of the American Ministers in the X, Y, and Z business—Their effect in diminishing the national exertion was considerable—It might have appeared to them that Ireland, in passing through the revolutionary furnace, if successful, might have been enslaved by a pentarchy, or have been obliged to seek a diminution of oppression in the despotism of some military chief.

Europe now scarcely affords the most feeble ray of hope to the friends of rational liberty—all the high raised expectations of the philanthropist seem ingulphed by the recent events in France—*here*, and *here* only seems to remain the

ality wears too much the appearance of selfishness to entitle you to much gratitude. Recollect that you only lately set your hand to a partial restoration of

last great stake of freedom. If moderation, wisdom and firmness distinguishes the republican, here may liberty have her blest abode for ages—but if rashness, intemperance, and a spirit of overweening innovation should raise their hideous heads, how fatal may they prove to this glorious era of republican triumph in the western world? If liberty should be entombed here, how many generations may pass before her resurrection? Whilst in the storm of state politics, a speck in the horizon of republican safety may be discovered, the administration of a Jefferson, with perhaps the exception of the repeal of the judiciary law, may well be estimated a model to future ages of a temperate, wise and energetic government, and which if pursued, may revive the expiring torch of freedom to a desponding world.

One part of a wise system seemed in some measure to have been neglected—Science, the arts, manufactures, canals, great roads—National institutions are among the primary objects, demonstrative of an active and fostering government. Mr. Jefferson has redeemed himself nobly from the possibility of this imputation. His address lately communicated to Congress, contains these words, “but in the discharge of the great duties confided to you by our country, you will take a broader view of the field of legislation. Whether the great interests of *agriculture, manufactures, commerce or navigation*, can within the pale of your constitutional powers, be aided in any of their relations?”

I should have indulged the hope that with an overflowing treasury congress would have met the invitation with equal zeal. Bonaparte's assumption of power is rendered respectable by his attention to these national objects. The melancholy tidings have however reached us that the great national instrument of our union is defective in not providing for the advancement of science, beyond the narrow path contained in one of the clauses of the 8th sect. providing for the security of authors and inventions. This construction has been made by the committee of whom Mr. Randolph was one, and afterwards was adopted by the house of representatives. When the late president Washington recommended to congress these objects, were they then thought out of the pale of the constitution? When he provided in his will, a fund in aid of a national university, can we presume that he considered congress incompetent to form such an institution? Are not the words to provide for the general welfare, broad enough to meet a power to aid

their rights, and that those acts of grace were accompanied with no small share of reluctance, no small portion of contempt. By giving the catholics the power of purchasing land; you converted a flux, monied property, which might be employed against you, into an immoveable pledge for their abiding by your fate, and binding their own chains the faster; and by withholding the elective franchise from them, you refuse them the shield by which they might protect their new acquisition. So that the privilege you rate so high, makes them but the more dependent upon your good-will and caprice. As to gradual emancipation, if you mean to treat your brethren as the English parliament has the negroes, you should mark a period for their emancipation, as that parliament has done for the more fortunate Africans. But you

science and the arts and manufactures of our country? The monopoly given to the patentee cannot on any fair principle of construction operate to exclude all other means of promoting science and the useful arts. Is it not more just to conclude, that this power, from the nature of the instrument was auxilliary, and required to be given in direct words, otherwise, the right of the author or inventor could only have been secured within his particular state?

If the construction however, was doubtful, ought it not to yield to the larger interpretation, as in the case of a statute which is always liberally construed to advance the public good?—Where is the direct power to build light houses for the protection of commeree, as well as other national edifices? are we not to find it in the general power before expressed, which may well embrace within its scope these necessary objects? What will foreign nations think of the federal authority and the grandeur of the republican government in America—if the whole authority of the nation could not exempt a particular parcel of books destined for a college, from the insignificant duty of four hundred dollars.—Even the donations of literary men in Europe, for scientific objects here, will be restrained by such a narrow construction.

If however, the committee should be correct in their construction, ought we not to untie, by an amendment to the constitution, this fatal knot, which thus palsies the government in its noblest and best efforts?

EDITOR.

do not wish it ; you are withholding their rights from your fellow-creatures, and indulging them now and then with a few fragments from your table, fondly hoping that on opportunity may arise to dash their hopes for ever, and plunge them back into that unfathomable abyss of misery from whence they have but just raised their heads. But the opportunity will not arise: the imperishable spirit of freedom has gone abroad and cheers the heart of the meanest peasant. He trusts in the justice and virtue of his king, and the tardy humanity of his brethren. His king longs already to burst the chains: FOR HE CAN DO NO WRONG: and many of the FATHERS, RESTORERS, AND PRESERVERS OF POLITICAL PROTESTANT FREEDOM IN THE NORTH, are working seriously, honestly, nobly, and independently in their cause. YOUR REALLY AND TRULY GLORIOUS DELIVERER, *Mr. Grattan*, and many of the most exalted natures in Ireland, are at the same godlike work of redemption. The catholics will deserve it: for I know them, and of course they will be free. They have nothing to dread: they walk in the fearlessness of virtue.

BUT what shall become of the protestant ascendancy? I revere the protestant ascendancy, if, like the prerogative of kings, it is limited by justice and the safety of the people. I cannot revere it if it is nothing but an uncontrollable sway. Such a sway I could never respect, tho' seated on the throne of Great Britain, or the chair of St. Peter. If by protestant ascendancy you mean, that the great power of the country should remain in the hands of the present possessors, more than three hundred years would not transfer the power (for property is the power) into the hands of catholics, even if the whole penal code was swept away at this moment; and I believe it requires no inspiration to foretell, that the folly and wickedness of religious animosity will have died with those who harbour it long, long before that period. But if you define the protestant ascendancy, a protestant king, a protestant peerage, a protestant house of commons, a protestant

constituency, and make no account of your catholic brethren, but wish, with the representative of the whole Irish nation, as he was pleased to denominate himself,* that their liberties should be forever extinguished, while you but half retain your own, I abhor the inhuman idea, as I do the author of evil, and exactly upon the same principle; because it is the enemy of mankind.

I have now done: and I implore a mercy for your brethren, and justice for your country. If you refuse that mercy, and withhold this justice, you should prepare for a union:† things cannot remain in their pre-

* The late Rd. Sheridan, Esq. then M. P. for Charlemont.

† Earl Fitzwilliam accepted the office of Viceroy upon the express stipulation, with the English Cabinet, that grace and emancipation should be extended to the *Catholics* of Ireland.

The enlightened part of the Protestants of Ireland supported the extension of Catholic privilege. It was not difficult to discover that they had a common cause with their Catholic brethren. English policy had put three millions of Catholics in a state of depression to a Protestant ascendancy of about half a million of high Churchmen. One and an half million of Protestant Dissenters held a middle state. They possessed the Elective Franchise and were capable of acquiring real property—but they also were under many disabilities—the inhabitants of Ireland of every denomination paid tithes to support the clergy of the church of England.—Ministers' money, as it was called, in the cities was levied from the Dissenters, Roman Catholics, Jews, &c. for the support of the English church.

The English predominance it was evident must ever prevail without union among the persecuted.—No reformation without unanimity could be hoped for in the representation of the people—nor virtue expected in the legislature to oppose the ruinous policy of Great Britain.

Such was the venality of Ireland about this period, that borough representation had a market price. The cost of a seat in Parliament for a borough member was about £2000 or 2500 sterling—the price is now about twice that sum in England. Nobility itself was put to sale, and Mr. Grattan offered to prove in the House of Commons, a few years before the insurrection, the sale of the peerage at a price of about £10,000.

sent situation; you must either give freedom to the catholic or abdicate it for yourself. Your ancient oppressors are on the watch to inflame your passions, and reinsnare you into worse than your former bond-

The duke of Lerma's administration in Spain, as described in Gil Blas, was not more tainted by a general corruption of the body politic than the English administration of the Irish government, previous to the arrival of earl Fitzwilliam.

The people of Ireland hoped for an amelioration of their condition, from two causes. first. By Catholic emancipation, which would have united the people of Ireland in one common interest. 2d. Reformation in parliament which held out the pleasing hope of a representation; not false and spurious, but one participating in the wants and consulting the real interests of the people of Ireland.

Such a parliament would have checked the shameful extravagance of the government—would have fostered their infant manufactures—would have restrained the importation of English merchandize—would have recalled the absentee, or taxed his estate—and finally; would have animated the commerce and watched with vigilance the great interests of the state.

The Beresford family had been opposed to the Catholic claims.—Holding many offices in the revenue and elsewhere, they dreaded a system in which they were not directors.—The departure of Fitzwilliam was, in Ireland, a day of black funeral rites and fallen hopes. Mr. Pitt had not fortitude or real wisdom to pursue his adopted plan.—He yielded up the *real union* of the British empire in Europe, to a dastardly fear of an Irish faction. Fitzwilliam was the victim of this crouching policy. From this moment we may trace a new era in the spirit of the nation. All hope of justice to the Catholics—reformation in the government having terminated; the people of Ireland determined to rely for the future on their own energies.—Then began the societies for reformation, which were followed by the grand system of United Irishmen. Thus from the prevarication and inconsistency of Pitt, followed all that melancholy and dismal train of horrors which have overshadowed that unhappy land. Ireland thus was plunged into the dire calamity of civil war. Famine, fire and the sword were let loose on this devoted country—Smoking towns and villages in 1798, and the loss of 40,000 lives consummated in that memorable year, the climax of its misfortunes. When battle ceased to rage, then began the proscription of a Sylla, or a Marius. The prisons of Paris, in 1794, under the bloody Robespierre

age. A union would be advantageous to the catholic. By it the protestant would lose his all, if freedom be all to the noble minded and the brave. The catholic would not be raised to the protestant, but the protestant would be levelled down to the catholic, and sunk into a slavish acquiescence in the will of a country accustomed to despise him. The catholic would be more happy: for that liberty he is never doomed to taste, would be removed far from his wounded ear, his aching sight. The protestant would have no consolation for glories past and present shame. He would experience a servitude more grievous than death.

and the prisons of Ireland, in 1798, were only relieved of their pressure by the guillotine in the one, and the gallows in the other. Numbers of wretches perished in the fields and ditches, yielding to wounds, when no relief could be obtained, or to famine when it was death to supply or succour.

A Manchester butcher at the battle of Culloden, killed 30 men with his butcher-knife in the pursuit. The English have always been considered unrelenting and cruel to those they called rebels. The heads of the unfortunate, after June 1798, every where met the eye of the passenger. The generous and wise policy of a Cornwallis, who succeeded Lord Camden, at this terrible moment, saved Ireland. He corrected the ruthless hand of military power. Conciliation held out the olive branch. Exile was substituted for death. It was then when the spirit of the nation was broken that the union was attempted and finally carried; a union on the part of Ireland, forced and insincere; the effect of that corrupt system over venal members who having purchased seats in parliament, *sold their country for reimbursement.*

EDITOR.

*Extracted from the Wexford Herald of Monday,
September 24, 1792.*

COUNTY MEETING.

Saturday being the day appointed by the high sheriff to take into consideration a letter, purporting to have been written by order of the sub-committee of the catholics of Ireland, and signed Edward Byrne ; about one o'clock the sheriff took the chair, and the letter having been read, the following resolutions were moved by the hon. Francis Hely Hutchinson.

1. *Resolved*, that it is the undoubted right of all his majesty's subjects to petition every branch of the legislature.—*Adopted*.

2. *Resolved*, that it appears to this meeting that the object of the plan referred to by the letter, which has been read this day from the chair, is to collect the sense of all the catholics of Ireland, in order that their wishes may be laid by petition at the foot of the throne.—*Rejected*.

3. *Resolved*, that the said plan is agreeable to law, and that those who shall endeavour peaceably and quietly to carry it into execution, will not, by so doing, commit any act, either illegal or unconstitutional.—*Rejected*.

A debate for some hours having taken place upon the above resolutions, and the question having been put, the first was passed in the affirmative unanimously ; and a division having taken place upon the two last, they were rejected by a majority of one hundred and ten, to forty-five.

THIS division having taken place, Mr. Maxwell moved the following resolutions, all of which were carried in the affirmative.

WE the freeholders of the county of Wexford convened by the high-sheriff, at the requisition of the last grand jury, to take into consideration a paper, signed " Edward Byrne," purporting to come from a body of men, stiling themselves, " the sub-committee of the catholics of Ireland," think it highly incumbent on us to express in the strongest terms our disapprobation of the contents of it.

Resolved, that we see with much surprize, the many favours so liberally conferred of late years, by the legislature, on the Roman catholics of Ireland, do not meet with the return of thanks and gratitude to which they were so justly entitled.

Resolved, that since the proceedings of catholics are unwarrantable, and their demands unreasonable, it is time for the protestants to make a stand, and to be *firm in refuge* to make *further concessions*.

Resolved, that we firmly rely on the wisdom of our most gracious sovereign, that he will not give his sanction to any measure that may militate against the principles that placed his family on the throne, or tend to diminish the protestant ascendancy of this kingdom.

Mr. MAXWELL moved an address to the representatives of the county, to entreat them to give their *opposition* to any bill which might be introduced either now or any time hereafter, extending to the benefit of the elective franchise, or a *participation of the trial by jury*.*

THE address having been a long time debated, was at last withdrawn. Mr. Hutchinson then moved the thanks of the meeting to Mathew Derenzy, Esq. the high-sheriff, for his very correct and proper conduct in the chair, which motion was carried, unanimously; and the question of adjournment having been put and carried, the meeting was dissolved at a very late hour of the night.

* Execration must rise in the most temperate bosom at the inhuman denial to a great class of fellow subjects, of "a participation in the trial by jury." Three fifths of the people of Ireland, are thus disabled from being jurors. And in trials where life, reputation or property may be at stake, they are exposed to the chance of having for jurors, men, such as composed the Wexford meeting who would exclude the Catholic from the common privilege of human nature which is even extended by the English law to foreigners, "*equal rights in the administration of justice*." If a subject of Tripoli, was to be tried in England, or here he would be entitled to a trial *per médiatam linguam*. EDITOR.

Extracted from the Wexford Herald, of Thursday the 27th of September, 1792.

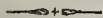
WE the Roman catholics of the town and vicinity of Wexford, ever anxious to cultivate the friendship of our protestant brethren, and to unite with them in all the bands of social happiness, embrace this flattering opportunity of testifying our gratitude to the virtuous and independent *forty-five*, whose united efforts and interests supported our cause at the county meeting, convened by the high-sheriff on Saturday last.

THE malignant shafts of calumny, directed by the iron-hand of arbitrary power will never awe us into an acquiescence in *guilt*, which we most solemnly abjure. We are, have been,—and ever shall be,—*grateful* and loyal. Were we possessed of more our noble friends should participate thereof, did their generous and disinterested patriotism permit the idea of a transitory reward; nay, we respect our enemies as members of the state, but hope they will not expect *gratitude* from us until they be come our benefactors that is, proselites to the true political faith, on which depends the salvation of our country.

WE hail our illustrious and glorious protectors, who with irresistible energy, eloquence and truth, pleaded the cause of injured innocence and degraded humanity, attempting to raise its head amidst its implacable oppression!—We hail them as being invaluable co-operators with the saviours of our country; on whom alone, and on men of such minds, depends the perpetuity of the constitution as established at the revolution.

Signed by order,

JAMES E. DEVEREUX.



To the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the county of Wexford.

WE, the undersigned magistrates of the county of Wexford, convinced that you have not a wish nearer your heart than to have an opportunity of expressing your loyalty and inviolable attachment to our king and

excellent constitution, (in the absence of the high-sheriff) request your attendance at the *county court-house*, on *Friday*, the 11th of *January* next, for that purpose. A measure we conceive at this time not only highly becoming, but also essentially necessary, thereby to contribute so far as in us lies to the restoration of public and private credit, which we have experienced to be materially injured, by the seditious practices of a few designing and turbulent incendiaries.

Walter Hore—Henry Hatton—John Harvey—Ebenezer Jacob—James Boyd—Robert Hawkshaw—John Heatly—Ricahrd Newtown King—William Hore—John Cox—William Glascott—Miller Clifford.

At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, convened by requisition of the magistrates thereof, and held at Wexford, on Friday, the 11th January, 1793.

WALTER HORE, Esq. in the chair ;

We, the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford convened by the magistrates, think it right at this time, *unanimously* to declare our attachment to the constitution, consisting of king, lords and commons—and have *resolved*,

That the principles of the British constitution are founded in wisdom and justice, equally providing for the liberty and happiness of the people.

That an hereditary monarch, an assembly of the nobles, and a body of representatives derived from the people, by free and general election, are each of them integral, vital, and essential parts of our constitution, in so much that the decay or corruption of any of them, will taint or destroy the whole system.

That the representative part of our legislature is not derived from the people, by that free and general election, which the fundamental principles of our con-

stitution require, and the state and condition of this nation would warrant.

That the permanent peace and welfare of Ireland can only be established by a radical and effectual reform in the commons house of parliament, and that this object once obtained, the people ought to remain content and grateful.

That we will, by all constitutional and lawful means, promote a radical and effectual reform in the representation of the people in parliament, including persons of all religious persuasions, and we rely on the wisdom of parliament to grant such reform.

That we are happy thus publicly to declare, that the people of this country are perfectly peaceable and quiet, and we know of no seditious practices therein, nor do we see any the least shadow of, or tendency to riot or tumult in this country; but lest any such should be entertained or intended by any factious persons *we do declare*, that we will resist all attempts to introduce any new form of government into this country, or in any manner to subvert, corrupt, or impair any of the three essential parts of our constitution, consisting of king, lords, and commons.

Resolved, that copies of the above resolutions be forwarded by our chairman, to the right hon. George Ogle, and the hon. John Loftus, representatives in parliament for this county.

Resolved, that the above resolutions be inserted three times in the Dublin Evening Post, Morning Post, and Wexford Herald.

(Signed)

WALTER HORE.

Walter Hore, Esq. having left the chair, and Cornelius Grogan, Esq. being called to it, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Walter Hore, Esq. chairman, for his impartial and upright conduct this day.

(Signed)

COR. GROGAN.

Extracted from the debates of the house of lords on the 10th of July, 1793, on the convention bill, as it appeared in the public papers.

Lord Farnham declared, " That he had received letters from the county of Wexford, perfectly agreeing with what had been mentioned by the noble lord on the woolsack. In that county the people had held meetings at night, and from parish to parish had sworn the inhabitants not to pay rents, tythes, or taxes, expressing their disappointment that they had not received 10l. each man annually for the emancipation, but a lease for which they were obliged to pay."—He approved of the bill.

At a numerous meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, in the county court-house, on the 23d of March, 1795.

CORNELIUS GROGAN, Esq.* in the chair.

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY:

Resolved, That the resolutions of the freeholders and inhabitants of this county in favor of catholic emancipation and reform, adopted by them at a county meeting, held at Wexford on the 11th day of January, 1793, be now read :

Resolved, That we continue of the same opinion as declared by us at the above meeting.

Resolved, That earl Fitzwilliam, by the wisdom of his measures, and by calling to his councils those men who have at all times promoted the union and supported the interests of the people, and proved themselves the true friends of their king, the constitution and their country, has deservedly obtained the confidence and merited the gratitude of Irishmen.

* This gentleman, had been forced into the revolt. He was put to death as was also Mr. Harvey, after the suppression of the rebellion—as is mentioned in Mr. Hays history. They were both men of large fortune. The violation of the terms agreed upon with Lord Kingsborough, which would have protected them and others, did little honor to the good faith of the government.

EDITOR.

Resolved, That we have good reason to be convinced that the sudden recall of so PATRIOTIC a nobleman, at that moment when those friends of Ireland who had obtained his confidence, were bringing forward measures, that would have promoted the UNION of the *people*—and encreased the strength of the empire, could have no other source than in the malignant schemes and interference of a late administration, (supported by the influence of certain members of the British cabinet) who knew that whilst his lordship remained in the government they could no longer pursue a detested system of measures—which seemed more calculated for the purposes of corruption, oppression, and persecution, than the prosperity of the state.

Resolved, That strongly impressed by our past experience of so dangerous an administration, it is not without reason we read the return of the men who formed it, into power, and the revival of a system which filled the minds of the people with terror and alarm, and had a fatal tendency to create disunion and disaffection, and we call upon every man who regards the safety of the empire to come forward and deprecate the return of that administration into power, and thereby rescue the nation from plunder, dissatisfaction, and disunion.

Resolved, That an humble petition to the king, expressive of our sentiments on this occasion, be forthwith drawn up and laid before us for our approbation, and that a committee be appointed to prepare the same—which being read,

Resolved, That we approve of said petition, and that Cornelius Grogan, Edward Hay, and B. B. Harvey, Esqrs. do present the same to his majesty.

Resolved, That we should ill deserve the patriotic intentions of earl Fitzwilliam to this country, if we did not declare our sense of them previous to his lordship's departure from this kingdom.

Resolved therefore, That an address be prepared by the committee accordingly, which being read—

Resolved, That we approve of the said address, and that sir Thomas Esmonde, bt. sir Frederick Flood, bt. and Wm. Harvey, Esq; convey said address to earl Fitzwilliam.

Resolved, That we congratulate our countrymen of the Roman catholic persuasion, on the liberal and honorable testimony which so many counties, cities, and towns have borne to the justice and policy of their claims.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are justly due to *Mr. Grattan*, for his honest and patriotic attention, as well in as out of power, to those measures which on former occasions he had supported and brought forward, and also for his spirited and constitutional answer to the address of the Roman catholics of Dublin.

Resolved, That we do publicly thank and entertain a due sense of the merits of those members of both houses of parliament, who have uniformly stood forward the advocates of those indispensably necessary measures for the preservation of our constitution, the emancipation of our catholic brethren, and a reform in the representation of the people in parliament.

Resolved, That these our resolutions of thanks be communicated by our worthy chairman to his grace the *Duke of Leinster*,* and the *right hon. Henry Grattan*.

Resolved, That our peculiar thanks are due to the magistrates who so properly and spiritedly complied with the requisition to convene this meeting in the absence of the high sheriff, who was not in the county.

* It was generally thought that the duke and the whole Leinster family, favoured a reformation in the government. Mr. Grattan was supposed to entertain a similar wish. They were both in England, in 1798. Mr. Grattan was insulted afterwards in the house of commons by Mr. Corry, who insinuated that he had countenanced the rebellion; this ended in a duel, which they both survived.

At a numerous meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, convened by public notice, held at the county court-house on the 23d of March, 1795.

The following petition to the King was unanimously adopted.

May it please your majesty.

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, convened by the magistrates thereof in absence of the sheriff, beg leave to approach your throne, and with permission of our most gracious sovereign, to express our attachment to your majesty's family and government, in full confidence that our benevolent sovereign will vouchsafe to hear his subjects in whose hearts he reigns, and whose love for his sacred person will ever lead them to support with their lives and their properties his throne and his government.

WITH gratitude we received as a signal instance of our august sovereign's beneficence to his Irish people, the appointment of earl Fitzwilliam to the government of this kingdom, a nobleman whose wisdom and whose virtues peculiarly qualified him to be the beloved viceroy, who would administer to the inhabitants of Ireland, that happiness and union we know your majesty would wish to be the lot of all your people ; and we anticipated the happy consequence from earl Fitzwilliam's administration, when we had observed he had called to his councils those men who were most conspicuous in the nation for their abilities, and their attachment to the interest of their king and the constitution of their country ; and whose measures promised a just appropriation of the public revenues, and additional strength to the empire. But particularly we contemplated with the most heartfelt joy, the union of all your majesty's subjects, by the removal of those civil distinctions arising from difference in religious opinion—a measure of such invaluable wisdom, as would for ever shield the throne of our revered

sovereign, with the unconquerable phalanx of a loyal and brave people. But these our most flattering expectations being suspended by the removal of earl Fitzwilliam from the government of Ireland, we beg leave to represent to our most gracious sovereign, our fears and apprehensions least these men whose advice had for several years past directed the administration of affairs, should again be called into the confidence and councils of government. We beg leave to represent that a contempt for your people, and a prodigality and waste of the public revenues, distinguished their administration, we therefore deprecate the return of such men into power and confidence, as dangerous to your majesty's interest and the welfare of your people, and at this awful and alarming crisis, most humbly throw ourselves for relief on the benevolence and affection of our most gracious sovereign, in humble confidence that his majesty will be pleased to restore to a grateful nation, the prospect of those blessings which we so anxiously hoped for, and call again to your councils those men whose measures must ensure the prosperity and strength of the empire, and in whom your people place their hopes and their confidence.

Subscribed by twenty-two thousand, two hundred and fifty-one signatures, presented to the king at St. James's, 22d of April 1795.

To his excellency, William, earl Fitzwilliam, lord lieutenant general, and general governor of Ireland.

The address of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, convened by public notice, at the court-house at Wexford, 23d of March 1795.

Cornelius Grogan Esq. in the chair.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

WE, the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Wexford, beg leave, in the present alarming state of affairs in this kingdom, to express to your excellency, the sentiments of regret which we feel at the

information we have received, of your excellency's departure from this kingdom.

WHEN we beheld your lordship commencing your government in this country, by the proposition of measures the most just and the most politic, the removal of civil distinctions on account of differences in religious opinions, and the investigation of abuses, which time and corruption had introduced into some departments of the state—when we beheld your lordship calling to your councils those men who were most conspicuous in the nation for their attachment to its interests and the true spirit of the constitution—men in whose integrity the people placed their hopes and confidence, we exulted in the glad proposal of union and harmony, and we anticipated with joy the approaching happiness of the people. The honest and virtuous were inspirited, the corrupt, the factious and the rapacious oppressor, alone felt disappointment and chagrin.

BUT should your excellency withdraw from the government of Ireland; these our most anxious hopes must yield to apprehension and despondency; we dread least a set of men, as odious as they are vindictive and tyrannical, should return into power, and revive a system of measures which disunited the people, and were dangerous to his majesty's interests and the safety of his kingdom. The memory of the unhappy discontents and divisions, which were produced by the evil councils of such men, heightens our regret at the recall of a governor, whose wise and conciliatory measures would have infallibly promoted the union of the people, the strength of the nation, and the stability of the constitution.

HAPPY then in that reward which the good and virtuous alone can know, the consciousness of an upright mind, receive from a grateful people, their thanks and their gratitude. And may our gracious sovereign, when he shall have dismissed from his councils, those men who have unfortunately for this country, too long beset his throne, finally bestow on your lordship, every royal

favour to which your services and your virtues so justly entitle you.

Signed by order of the meeting,

CORNELIUS GROGAN, *chairman,*

THOMAS RICHARDS, *secretary.*



AT a numerous meeting of the magistrates of the county of Armagh convened on the 28th of December, 1795, at the special instance of *lord Gosford*, governor. His lordship having taken the chair, opened the business of the meeting by the following address :

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING requested your attendance here this day it becomes my duty to state the grounds upon which I thought it adviseable to propose this meeting and at the same time to submit to your consideration a plan which occurs to me as most likely to check the enormities that have already brought disgrace upon this county, and may soon reduce it into deep distress.

IT is no secret that a persecution accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity is now raging in this county. Neither age nor sex or even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances is sufficient to exite mercy, much less to afford protection.

THE only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime indeed, of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman catholic faith, or an intimate connexion with a person professing this faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible!—It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immeditate banishment.

It would be extremely painful and surely unnecessary to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription—A proscription that certainly exceeds in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient or modern history can supply : for where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelties have we read of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their industry, and driven in the midst of an inclement season to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them

THIS is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this county. Yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest bosoms.—These horrors are now acting with impunity.—The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this county, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.

It is said in reply—The catholics are dangerous—They may be so—They may be dangerous from their numbers, and still more dangerous from their unbounded views they have been encouraged to entertain ; but I will venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that these proceedings are not more contrary to humanity than they are to sound policy.

It is to be lamented, that no civil magistrate happened to be present with the military detachment on the night of the 21st instant—but I trust the suddenness of the occasion, the unexpected and instantaneous aggression on the part of the delinquents will be universally admitted as a full vindication of the conduct of the officer and the party acting under his command.

GENTLEMEN, I have the honour to hold a situation in this country, which calls upon me to deliver

my sentiments, and I do it without fear and without disguise.

I AM as true a protestant as any gentleman in this room. I inherit a property which my family derived under a protestant title, and with the blessing of God, I will maintain that title to the utmost of my power. I will never consent to make a sacrifice of protestant ascendancy to catholic claims, with whatever menace they may be urged, or however speciously or invidiously supported.

CONSCIOUS of my sincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadvisedly, but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry insinuations that malice or party-spirit may suggest.

I KNOW my own heart, and I should despise myself if under any intimidation I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.

I SHOULD be guilty of an unpardonable injustice to the feelings of gentlemen here present, were I to say more on this subject. I have now acquitted myself, to my conscience and my country, and take the liberty of proposing the following resolutions:

1. THAT it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder: that the Roman catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they immediately abandon their lands and habitations.

2. THAT a committee of magistrates be appointed to sit on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the chapter-room in the town of Armagh, to receive information against all persons of whatever description, who disturb the peace of this county.

3. THAT the instruction of the whole body of magistrates to their committee shall be to use every legal means within their power to stop the progress of the persecution now carrying on by an ungovernable

mob, against the Roman catholic inhabitants of this county.

4. THAT said committee or any three of them be empowered to expend any sum or sums of money, for information or secret service out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

5. THAT a meeting of the whole body of the magistracy be held every second Monday at the house of Mr. Charles M'Reynolds, in the town of Armagh to hear the reports of the committee, and to give such further instructions as the exigency of the case may require.

6. THAT offenders of every description in the present disturbances shall be prosecuted out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county,

FROM the Dublin Journal of January the 5th, 1795; and copied in all the papers in Ireland.



ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Dublin, 26th Feb. 1798.

General Orders.

THE very disgraceful frequency of courts-martial and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in this kingdom, having too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy. The commander in chief, thinks it necessary to demand from all generals commanding districts and brigades, as well as commanding officers of regiments, that they exert themselves, and compel from all officers under their command, the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order and conduct of their men, such as may restore the high and distinguished reputation, the British troops have been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world. It becomes necessary to recur and most pointedly to attend to the standing orders of the kingdom, which at the same time, that they direct mili-

tary assistance to be given at the requisition of the civil magistrate, positively forbid the troops to act (but in case of attack) without his presence and authority ; and the most clear and precise orders are to be given to the officer commanding the party for this purpose. The utmost prudence and precaution are also to be used in granting parties to revenue officers, both with respect to the person requiring such assistance, and those employed on the duty ; whenever a guard is mounted, patrols must be frequently sent out, to take up every soldier who may be found out of his quarters after his hours.

A VERY culpable remissness having also appeared on the part of officers, respecting the necessary inspection of barracks, quarters, messes, &c. as well as attendance at roll calls, and other hours, commanding officers must enforce the attention of those under their command to those points, and the general regulations, for all which the strictest responsibility will be expected for themselves.

It is of the utmost importance that the discipline of the dragoon regiments should be minutely attended to, for the facilitating of which, the commander in chief has dispensed with the attendance of orderly dragoons on himself ; and desires that they may not be employed by any general or commanding officer, but on military and indispensable business.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CRAIG,
Eastern district—Barracks, Dublin.

By order of the council for directing the affairs of the people of the county of Wexford.

* Oaths to be taken by all the United army, in the most public and solemn manner.

Test Oath.

In the awful presence of God, I, A, B. do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among *Irishmen* of every religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of *all* the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, not even death, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.—So help me God.

* The oath, is the same which was taken by all the United Irish of every religion. The American revolution, saw congress attend mass. The union in Ireland, had in view to annihilate all religious prejudice. The effect of this spirit in those times in Ireland, produced such mutual toleration, that in the same edifice, and on the same day a church of England congregation and a presbyterian one, the one in the morning and the other in the evening, (in the city of Londonderry,) attended divine worship. This may not appear extraordinary to the happy native of republican America. To those who knew the proud pre-eminency of the English church and the strong prejudices of the Presbyterians against a church which the Scotch covenanters resembled to the whore of Babylon, this harmony and spirit of conciliation will be deemed no insignificant proof of an important revolution working at that time in the temper of the nation.

An adequate representation appears to have been all the result contemplated by the union, as the fruit of the most complete success, and for which these people thus ventured their lives and fortunes.

Oath of a Private.

I, A, B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God, and his only son our Lord Jesus Christ, to witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers—that I am ready to lay down my life for the good of my country—that I have an aversion to plunder, and to the spilling of innocent blood—that I will fight courageously in the field, and have mercy where it can be given—that I will avoid drunkenness as tending to disorder and ruin—that I will endeavour to make as many friends and as few enemies as possible—that above all, I detest a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy who will stand back in the time of battle.—So help me God.

Oath of an Officer.

IN the awful presence of God, who knows the hearts and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness, I, A, B. officer in, &c. do solemnly swear, that I do not consider my life my own when my country demands it—that I consider the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment; and I am ready and desirous to stand the test; and do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union breakers, and cowards, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.—So help me God.

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, *president.*

NICHOLAS GRAY, *secretary.*

Done at the council chamber,

Wexford, June 14, 1798.

TO BRIGADEER MAGAR FIGGERALD, IN WAXFORD.

PLAISE your honour as you war good enof get the general to give us pardon, and as you tould us, that if there was an occasion youd expect that weed fite for our king and country, and as ever willin to be up to our word, we send this paper about the bisness, and if your honour ill give us leave to fite weel do every thing your honour bids us, and we minded nothing else to-morrow but to fite for the kings officers against the French, and hopes your honour will excuse this haste an we wished to lose no time, and excuse our not nowing how to write to such generals, but if your honour will get a memoral drawn rite your honour may depend on us and put our names to it for us as in the inclosed.

O'BRIEN,
WALSH, and
SULLIVAN.

DEAR SIR,

I AM requested by the respectable farmers of this country, to entreat of you to come here without delay, as the people are much agitated.—The industry and domestic happiness which you established among them seems suspended ; and to-morrow appears to be an appointed day for general meeting. Your appearance would certainly quiet the distracted people, and I trust your humanity and ardent exertions will induce you to interfere.—If you honor me with an answer, and that you promise the people the pleasure of a visit. the most respectable farmers are ready to attend your arrival, and accompany you through the Macomores. I remain in anxious expectation of seeing you, &c. &c.

G. S.

C—h—e, September 2d, 1798.

To brigade major Fitzgerald.

COUNTY WEXFORD, TO WIT.

EDWARD ROCHE* of Garrilough, who acted as a rebel chief in the late rebellion, voluntarily maketh oath that the rebels vowed vengeance against Mr. Edward Hay, for aiding and assisting the late Edward Turner, Esq. who was a magistrate for said county, on the surrender of their arms and pikes at Newpark, on Saturday, the 26th of May, 1798, thereby supposing him their enemy. Deponent saith, that the rebels constantly during the rebellion, called for Mr. Edward Hay, to go out to their camps, and take the command; and if said Edward would not, he should be put to death by them. Deponent saith, that from the hate and violence of the rebels, and their threats against said Edward, his personal safety became uncertain and precarious: and the more so, as frequent representations were made to the rebels by certain persons that had influence among them, that said Edward was inimical to them. Deponent saith, that said Edward never carried arms, attended the rebel camps, or did any thing to conciliate the rebels. Deponent saith, he was in Wexford on the 20th of June 1798, being the day of the massacre on the bridge, where

* The deposition of the Rev. Mr. Roche, the rebel chief, and the letter of Lord Kingston, are inserted that the reader may be able to appreciate the means Mr. Hay possessed to furnish a faithful statement of the county of Wexford insurrection.

It will be difficult to suppose, that Mr. Hay, after we have read the sentiments expressed in his history, did not favour, at least with good wishes, the insurrection. But he might have justly considered it inadequate to its object. He must easily have discovered it must fail from a want of concert with other parts of the kingdom—from defect of discipline—from the inhuman and bloody spirit which refused all controul, and which manifested itself at Vinegar-Hill, and the bloody bridge at Wexford—from the want of resources—from the abandonment of all order after success—and, more than all, from that lethargic temper, which, when life and fortune were thus depending on the issue, slept in the lap of victory, until roused and overwhelmed in a few days afterwards by an active and recruited enemy.

deponent saw Mr. Edward Hay exert himself with zeal and activity, in preventing the wicked and blood-thirsty designs of the rebels ; and saith, that the said Edward in doing so, exposed himself to almost inevitable destruction. Deponent saith, that the rebels loudly declared Mr. Hay to be their enemy, that his whole designs were to protect their enemies the *orange-men* ; and if he was not one himself, he would not oppose them, (the rebels) and exert himself for the protection of *orangemen*.

Sworn before me this 18th day of April, 1799,

EBEN JACOB.

EDWARD ROCHE.

Colney, December 14th, 1799.

SIR,

FROM what I saw of your conduct whilst I was at Wexford a prisoner, I am convinced that you did all in your power to save the people whom the rebels wished to murder, and myself among that number ; and it was through you that the town of Wexford was given up to me, which circumstance I believe, saved the lives of many ; and by what I have heard from you of your trial, do think you have been very unjustly persecuted.

I am your most obedient humble servant,

KINGSTON.

To EDWARD HAY, Esq.

Further account of the massacre at Wexford by the Insurgents; instigated by Captain Dixon, connected with page 135 of this work.

I, HOWEVER, continued still unwearied in my exertions, particularly endeavouring to preserve my dear and beloved friend, Mr. Turner, whose death, and that of a Mr. Gainfort, the populace declared indispensable to their satisfaction, as they had led out the army against them on Whitsunday, and had burnt their houses. Although I knew that my friend had burned a house, (of which he most sincerely and heartily repented) yet, I appealed to the multitude, if any one could prove the fact alleged against him, and no one appearing to come forward for that purpose, I seized on the glimpse of hope I now entertained of his safety, thinking that his life might be preserved by demanding a trial, on which if no proof of criminality could be adduced, it was natural to conclude, that his safety must be certain. I then made the experiment; but was answered by this universal cry, "what trial did we or our friends and relations obtain when some were hanged or shot, and others whipped or otherwise tortured; our houses and properties burnt and destroyed, and ourselves hunted like mad dogs?" But, I rejoined with some effect: "do you mean to compare yourselves to the perpetrators of such deeds, or would you disgrace your conduct by such barbarous acts?" This appeal to their principles produced the consequence, providentially, as I fondly hoped, of their consenting to a trial, but on the express condition, that I should retire and be present on no account. At this critical moment, I perceived a person near me whom I had induced to return from the Three-rocks, and who, true to his promise of every assistance in his power, after a variety of difficulty, had got close by me, together with some others of the like benevolent dispositions, to whom I stooped down from on horseback to listen to the arguments they humanely sug-

gested; and I must declare, that I derived great courage from their presence and advice to persist in my entreaties in the course of which, I find, on cool reflection, that I underwent great danger, of which I was by no means so sensible at the time, until afterward informed by many, who were kind enough to hold me in regard, while they prevented different persons from shooting me. I entreated the particular person before mentioned, to procure men whose humanity could not be doubted to try the prisoners, and when he should have succeeded to give me notice, as I would endeavour in the mean time to delay the people who were insisting that I should retire, "as," they declared, "I would go to the devil to save Turner." I did promise to retire as soon as I could have proper persons appointed to sit in trial over the prisoners, when my humane friend beckoned to me, signifying that he was ready. I then went into the committee-house where although capt. Dixon, and Morgan Byrne, whose sanguinary disposition I was well aware of, insisted that they should be on the trial; I could not oppose their appointment; but, however, four out of seven, which was the number chosen, humanely offered themselves, having previously promised me that they would not consent to put any one to death. I made use of another stratagem, by proposing an oath, that in their proceedings they would not be guided by public prejudice, but by justice and the evidence before them. This was with a view, if possible, to secure the assistance and co-operation even of the most sanguinary, and the seven were accordingly sworn to that effect. By this contrivance, and the solemn assurance of the four persons, that they would not consent to the condemnation of any one, I fondly hoped I had secured the life of my friend from danger; and being fully confident of the success of my plan, I left its subsequent management to a person on whose sincerity I could rely, and to whose worth I am sorry at not having the liberty to do justice by naming him; and having

made sure of such a friend to humanity, I thought it most prudent to retire, in order to please the people, the inclinations of many of whom I had now thwarted for hours; and I had good reason to suppose they would then be more inclined to listen to a new man.

THE seven persons appointed to sit on the trial proceeded from the committee-house to the goal, where they went into a small bed-chamber, inside the goaler's kitchen, in which Captain Dixon had left five prisoners whom he had doomed as the first victims for condemnation; but he here met with an opposition of which he was not until that moment at all aware. The members of this kind of popular tribunal divided; three were for death; but the other four true to their promise, and unwarped in their humane inclinations, firmly declared, that they considered themselves merely appointed to prevent massacre, and to save the lives of the prisoners, and would not attend or listen to any representation from Dixon or his fellows. This produced a very violent altercation, and great danger was to be apprehended by the friends of humanity, as Peter Byrne actually rushed into the room, and threatened them with instant destruction, if they did not agree to the death of the prisoners. Some others of Dixon's blood thirsty associates had got into the goal and were selecting such of the prisoners as they pleased to doom fit objects of destruction; but although Dixon's own designs cannot be doubted of ravening for blood, and that he was willing and eager to attempt any thing to gain his object; yet as the four men resolutely persevered in refusing to agree to the death of any man at such a crazy and phrensical moment, he was going to retire from a place, where his sanguinary views and cruel sentiments were opposed and overruled, and it is more than probable, that the sanguinary, retarded for hours in the onset, would have cooled in their fury, and have recovered sentiments of humanity sufficient to prevent them from putting

any one to death, were it not for two informers, Charles Jackson, a carver and gilder,* and ——— O'Connor, an organist, both of whom had not long resided in Wexford, and who were cast off from the society of the other prisoners, then in the goal. These, as ill fate would have it, threw themselves on their knees to captain Dixon, acknowledged that they were *orangemen*, and ready to give every information, provided their lives might be spared. Dixon, before in despair, at finding his sanguinary hopes baffled and blasted, readily agreed to their proposal, as it afforded a new prospect of perpetrating his infernal designs. He instantly addressed the people, assembled before the goal, stating that two *orangemen* had become informers, and that proceeding to trial was therefore unnecessary, as the evidence of these men must be conclusive. It may easily be conceived, that, on this communication, horribly vociferated by Dixon, and re-echoed by his wife, the populace became ungovernable ! The people instantly approved of his plan, and demanded that all *orangemen* should be sent out to them ; but his first care was to turn the men who opposed his bloody schemes out of the goal, of which he and his savage associates took complete possession. Kenneth Mathewson, as one of the persons denounced by the informers, was then turned out and immediately shot at the goal door. John Atkins, a painter and glazier, was another against whom they gave information ; and he being one of those whom Dixon had originally brought down for trial, as destined victims for immolation, he was still in the goaler's kitchen, when, hearing himself called for by name, he ran into the inner-room and hid under the bed, where he lay concealed until all danger was over. While these unforeseen but melancholy events were passing, I had retired in full assurance, that the people would be appeased ; and notwithstanding that they had peremptorily forbidden my

* The author of Wexford Cruelties.

being present at any trial, yet I was in hopes, as appearing no longer on horseback that I might get into the goal unobserved, and endeavour to assist those who had undertaken the humane and philanthropic task of protection. But great was my amazement, indeed, at finding the most violent threats uttered against me, as I approached the multitude. I therefore thought it most prudent to suffer myself to be led by two young women, who hurried me into a house, the door of which happened to be open, and while they were explaining to me the cause of this sudden and unexpected tumult, a shot was fired, and it was instantly rumoured through the crowd, that colonel Lehunte was killed; upon which, I could not help exclaiming, that they had put an innocent man to death! I then declared my determination to go out and endeavour to stop such a scene of butchery. On this a man who knew me seized upon me and positively insisted I should not leave the house, as just before I had come up, he had heard the people vow vengeance against me, in so vehement a manner, that he was certain I must inevitably perish, should I attempt to interfere.---On finding that it was not possible for me to do any good, the share of courage I had hitherto felt quite forsook me at this juncture: I burst into tears, and sunk into a state of insensibility! When the mob had in some degree dispersed, I was supported homewards by this good-natured man, but was obliged from faintness to stop twice on the way before I reached my lodgings.

It is confidently asked by many, why the clergy and principal inhabitants did not interfere to prevent massacre? There were but few of the inhabitants at all in the town, and I saw most part of the few that had remained in Wexford on that day, together with some clergymen, do all in their power to restrain the fury of the people, and prevent the spilling of blood; but, I do believe, that under existing circumstances it was impossible to controul the multitude, inflamed as they were by the representations of Dixon and his

associates ; and, in such eminently critical cases, it is not every one that has nerves strong enough to encounter the impending danger. For my own part, although I was courageous enough in the beginning of the day, yet I found myself afterwards in such a state as to be incapable of any exertion. I therefore doubt much, whether any person asking such questions, would have fortitude or charity enough to step forward on such an occasion, and attempt to save any one's life, so much as by declaring a truth favourable to his preservation ; a conduct that ought to flow even from spontaneous generosity or gratitude for material obligation ; but such slight interference as this was extracted by no motive from, but, in some instances refused or perverted by the like hypocritical and mock philanthropists, with those who put these presumptuous interrogatories. But to judge fairly of the conduct of another, it is necessary to be placed in a similar situation.

THE American editor anxious to display his impartiality, will now furnish the reader, with Jones's account of some of the principal battles fought in the county of Wexford; as also his representation of the conduct of the Insurgents at Vinegar Hill, &c. towards their prisoners. Mr. Hay admits great misconduct there, but attributes the most atrocious part of it to captain Dixon. Jones is professedly with the government, and his account is therefore to be received with reasonable caution. Mr. Jones's narrative, was collected from accounts written during the heat of the Insurrection. This will require considerable allowance to be made by the candid reader for the party zeal of the moment. Mr. Hay did not begin to write his History of the Insurrection, until passion and the heat of the public mind had in some degree abated. If the government had been overthrown, a very different colouring would probably have been given to the scenes herein described. At all events by collating the respective statements, truth will be elucidated.



NARRATIVE

OF THE MOST

IMPORTANT ENGAGEMENTS

DURING THE

Insurrection,

IN 1798.

EXTRACTED FROM JONES.



SOON after the twenty-third of May, large bodies of insurgents shewed themselves, and began to commit horrid outrages in the neighbourhood of Newtown-Barry, Ferns, and Enniscorthy, burning houses, and murdering many respectable persons. The military force in the county of Wexford was but small, the principal part of it composing the garrison of Wexford, which was the head-quarters of the North-Cork militia, under the command of Lieut. colonel Foote. The garrison of Enniscorthy was commanded by Capt. Snowe, of said regiment, and consisted of one company of the North-Cork, one company of Enniscorthy infantry (Captain Joshua Pounden's,) and one troop of Enniscorthy cavalry (Captain Solomon Richards's;) there was also a small detachment of the North-Cork at Ferns, and the Scarewalsh infantry, under the command of Captain Cornock. In consequence of a partial advantage obtained by the rebels in an affair near Ferns, in which Lieutenant Buckey, of the Camolin cavalry, was unfortunately killed, their numbers increased to an amazing degree; and their murders,

burnings, and devastations, were carried on with a still more savage fury ; the night served but to shew more distinctly the conflagration all around, and in the day-time the crowd of miserable sufferers flying in a state of distraction into the towns for shelter, impressed the mind with the utmost horror. In this situation the troops were employed on the most fatiguing duty ; unable, from the insufficiency of their numbers, to have a relief during the night-time, and of course obliged to keep their whole force continually under arms till morning.

BATTLE OF OULART.

ON the ensuing morning, Whit-Sunday, the twenty-seventh of May, a body of the rebels, of about five thousand men, took post on the hill of Oulart, within eight miles of Wexford ; of which Lieutenant-colonel Foote received immediate information, from Mr. Turner, a magistrate of the county, who brought the intelligence himself. The Lieutenant-colonel lost no time in ordering a detachment instantly under arms, to march out and attack this banditti ; and he determined to accompany it himself. The detachment ordered, consisted of one hundred and ten men, including non-commissioned officers, with Major Lombard, Hon. Capt. de Courcy, and four subaltern officers, which marched off the parade in the highest spirits, with the idea of being the first to quell this daring insurrection. When he had marched about eight miles, Lieutenant-colonel Foote perceived a body of rebels, as he supposed amounting to between four and five thousand men, posted on the hill of Oulart, the ditches also of the lower ground in their front, were lined with such of their men as were supplied with fire-arms : he, therefore, halted the detachment on the road, and with his pencil wrote a note on a scrap of paper, addressed to the officer he had left in command at Wexford, requiring an immediate reinforcement—this note he sent by the trumpeter of Colonel

le Hunte's yeomenry corps of cavalry, sixteen or seventeen of which had joined the North-Cork on the march. By some fatality or other, which has never yet been accounted for, the detachment was moved from the road whilst the Lieutenant-colonel was writing this note, and a party of a serjeant and twelve men detached to endeavour if possible to take the rebels in flank, whilst the remainder of the detachment pushed forward, crying out that they would beat the rebels out of the fields; by this movement it was instantly engaged with the rebels, who fired upon it from behind the ditches; but the troops soon beat them from these, and they retreated taking similar positions behind others, from which they were also routed with much loss. This advanced party then fled in great disorder to the hill, where the main body, chiefly pikemen, were posted; and was pursued, in equal disorder, by the unfortunate North-Cork, whose impetuosity could not be restrained, although every exertion was used by the Lieutenant-colonel to prevent it. At this critical moment, the main body of the rebels rushed down from the hill in a swarm, surrounded the dispersed detachment, and piked every man in a space of time hardly credible; the Lieut. colonel, one serjeant, and two privates alone escaping. Lieutenant-colonel Foote was wounded in the breast by a pike, and nearly dragged off his horse, but being capitally mounted, he galloped off the ground, clearing every ditch in his way; the serjeant who had been the one detached in flank, shot one of the rebels who was mounted, and by taking his horse made his own escape—how the two privates got off cannot be ascertained. Feats of great desperacy were performed by the ill-fated victims that perished; the grenadiers in particular, who having wrested their pikes out of the hands of several of their assailants, at last fell from blows and stabs behind.

THE next day, Whit-Monday, the twenty-eighth of May, the rebels increased in numbers, to more than double, and supplied with the arms and ammu-

nition they had taken from the unfortunate detachment, which had gone out with sixty rounds per man, and very few rounds of which had been expended, marched to Enniscorthy in the fullest confidence; they were commanded by general Roche, who had been permanent serjeant in colonel le Hunte's yeomenry, and by father John Murphy, a Roman catholic priest. However, Enniscorthy had been reinforced the day before, by the detachment of the North-Cork and Captain Cornock's Scarewalsh yeomenry falling back from Ferns, unable to oppose the multitudes of rebels assembled in that quarter; the whole of the combined force now amounting to about three hundred men, under the command of Captain Snowe, and together with the loyal Ferns and Enniscorthy inhabitants, every man at his post, in the best positions that the situation and force would admit of.

BATTLE OF ENNISCORTHY.

AT one o'clock in the afternoon, the action commenced, by a vigorous attack made by the rebels on the Duffrey-gate side of the town, having previously turned in before them a great number of loose horses to confuse and disconcert the troops; at the same time, the ditches in front of the Duffrey-gate were lined with several hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up a galling fire: the attack was opposed by the yeomenry and loyal inhabitants with the greatest gallantry, but from the vast superiority of the rebel members, there was much danger of the yeomenry corps being surrounded—several loyal and brave fellows had fallen, amongst the rest Captain John Pouden, who commanded his brother's supplementary yeomen; but intelligence of it arriving to Captain Snowe, who was posted on the bridge, he marched up the whole of the North-Cork to their assistance. Just as he got to the Duffrey-gate, he was met by an officer of cavalry, and informed that

was necessary he should file off to the left, to prevent the intention of the rebels of surrounding the town, by entering a road called the Daffney-road, which would have brought them into the town in the rear of them; this he accordingly did, and took a position on that road, where a rebel column was within a very short distance of him; but instead of attacking him, the rebels detached a large body to cross the river, which was very low, and to occupy the other side of the town (Templeshannon) and the bridge which he had quitted; by which means, had it succeeded, the troops of all descriptions would have been completely hemmed in; but the North-Cork ran back through the streets as quick as possible, to re-possession the bridge, in doing which they lost a sergeant and private by shots from the windows: however, they arrived critically in time to line the bridge, and to give a severe check to the rebel column, just when in the act of crossing the river, and a part of which had landed on an island in it. Numbers of the rebels fell upon this occasion, by the fire of the North-Cork from the battlements of the bridge; and none of their shots took effect from their confusion, from the protection of the battlements, and from most of them levelling so high, that their shot went whistling over the heads of the North-Cork, whose fire was so incessant, that it was with the utmost difficulty it could be restrained, even after the rebels had got beyond its effect. Another body of the rebels had by this time made good a landing lower down the river, but an officer and sixteen men of the North-Cork was detached from the bridge, through Templeshannon, to meet them. The officer (Lieutenant Brien) now in the regiment, but then only acting as a volunteer, an old officer of the line, took an excellent position, by lining the ditch of a ploughed field, from whence, by the report made by him to Captain Snowe on his return, the rebels sustained no small loss.

BAFFLED then in their first attempt, the rebels ceased any further attack for at least a quarter of an

hour, or twenty minutes, which gave Captain Snowe an opportunity of renewing the ammunition of his own men, which was almost all expended, and of sending a fresh supply to the yeomenry ; he was enabled to do this, from having a car on the bridge with him with his ammunition-chest on it : in the mean time, the houses all around, on each side of the river, began to blaze, and exhibited a most awful spectacle. The rebels took immediate advantage of this, to make a second and most desperate attack on the Duffrey-gate and through the Irish-street, and to send across the river to the Templeshannon side another body, much lower down than where they had attempted it before, in order to take the troops on both their flanks. Their numbers and impetuosity were so great on the Duffrey-gate and Irish-street, that all the corps of yeomenry and the loyalists were obliged to retreat fighting into the very centre of the town, where they made a most determined stand:—and here they were opportunely and nobly supported by the fire of a detachment of one serjeant, one corporal, and fourteen privates, composed equally of the militia and yeomenry, under the command of serjeant Bennett of the Enniscorthy infantry. This detachment had been posted in the morning, in the windows of the court-house, which commanded the market-place, under the idea of what now really came to pass ; and the execution from its fire amongst the crowd of rebels was dreadful—no shot missing. At this moment, Captain Cornock, wounded from the thrust of a pike along his neck, ran down to the bridge, to inform Captain Snowe of what was passing, and to request a reinforcement from the North-Cork, which was immediately complied with ; Captain Snowe reserving no officer, and only one serjeant and sixteen rank and file with himself. This reinforcement had not been gone five minutes, when the rebels appeared in Templeshannon, at the opposite end of the street, fronting the party of the North-Cork, which had been drawn across that part of the bridge to oppose them ; after

exchanging two or three shots, the party advanced rapidly through the streets with fixed bayonets and ported arms, finding nothing else for it, and apprehensive that a much larger body of rebels might come on: they met no opposition till they came to the brewery, when about forty men dashed in amongst them from a lane on their left, and an obstinate contest ensued hand to hand; but the North-Cork being all ready loaded, and their arms in the best order, succeeded in almost totally destroying this party of rebels, very few individuals saving themselves by flight: a small number of them only had fire-arms, but the pikemen, wonderfully tall, stout able fellows, fought with their pikes in the most furious and desperate manner, thrusting at the soldiers, who had much ado to parry with their bayonets after having fired, before they could load again—out of the sixteen men, two were killed and one wounded in this affair. Previous to the reinforcement under Captain Joshua Pounden coming over from the Dufrey-gate, the formidable attack in that quarter had been repulsed by the united militia and yeomenry, and the great column of rebels completely driven out of the town. This happy success enabled Captain Pounden to march his corps immediately over to Templeshannon, to the assistance of Captain Snowe and his small party.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many repulses the rebels had received, in this very severe action of more than three hour's continuance, yet they had not drawn off; they occupied all the hills about Enniscorthy, and were seen in thousands climbing up the steep wood below the bridge, to take post on the road leading to Wexford—they well knew that the troops, exhausted with the constant duty they had underwent for several days and nights previous to the action, and with the day's action itself, were in no condition to oppose fresh and repeated attacks that would be made on them in the night; they had no cannon, and were inclosed in a burning town, without the possibility of getting

any kind of refreshment. From a conviction of the truth of this situation, a retreat to Wexford was proposed to Captain Snowe, by the river instead of the great road, the town being no longer tenable ; to which he at last yielded, after giving his opinion, that he did not know how far he might be justified in doing so ; but being told that if he did not, his retreat would be entirely cut off in less than ten minutes, he ordered the drum to beat. The militia, yeomenry and loyalists marched off together, through the burning streets, the houses on each side of which were some blazing, others a cake of red fire ; they carried off with them such of their wounded as were at all able to move, the yeomen cavalry vying with each other which should give most assistance to these unfortunate sufferers, and equally so to the women and children, numbers of whom, inhabitants of Enniscorthy, followed the troops. No pursuit was attempted by the rebels, nor did they enter Enniscorthy for some time after the troops had evacuated it. In this day's action, Captain John Pounden, Lieutenant Carden, an old officer, and Lieutenant Hunt, fell ; the latter at first only wounded, but afterwards murdered by the rebels, and about seventy of the troops, mostly yeomenry ; several loyalists were also killed and wounded, on whose bravery too much praise cannot be bestowed. The rebels, by every subsequent account, lost five hundred men—they paid dear ; for General Roche afterwards declared they were the flower of his army of fifteen thousand men, ten thousand of whom were armed with fire-arms and pikes, the remainder with such weapons as they could procure ; however, their exact strength could not be ascertained, they were supposed by the troops in the action to be about ten thousand. Roche was mounted on a grey horse, wore a cocked hat, was dressed in scarlet, and had a drawn sword in his hand. The troops made good their retreat, and marched into Wexford that night by nine o'clock, in perfect order, both cavalry and infantry.

LETTER I.

FOXFORD, JULY 18, 1799.

MR DEAR FRIEND,

ON Sunday, the third of June 1798, one hundred and thirty of our regiment (the Armagh militia) commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Cope, marched into Gorey; and in the evening we were joined by different other detachments. We halted there all night, and next morning paraded to the number (yeomenry included) of about eleven hundred brave looking men. I could not suppose that the rebels would have opposed such a force; nor did we expect battle till we arrived at Vinegar-hill; which, I believe, may have been the cause of the insecurity of our commanding-officers, and which led to our defeat. The 4th of June (our gracious King's birth-day—oh! may we never commemorate it with such an awful scene) our forces were divided, one part under the command of General Loftus, the other under that of Col. Walpole, our fighting general. General Loftus, took the main road, leading to Wexford. I was under the direction of the latter, who took a country road, which after a few miles traveling struck out on the former.

*BATTLE OF TUBBERNEERTEN;
NEAR GOREY.*

WE marched about three miles, when Colonel Walpole rode along the line on march, and requested of the troops to be in readiness, as he expected an enemy very near; their picquets having appeared within a mile of us. We came to a beautiful situation by nature; the quicksets were very high on either hand, as also a woody country, through which we were to proceed: in this place lay our enemy, to the amount of twelve thousand! They secreted their force behind hedges, to allure us into the ambuscade—which unfortunately answered their hellish design.

Our cannon, consisting of two six-pounders, and a small field-piece of the Ancient British fencibles, were ordered to the front—the road became narrow, which prevented the great guns from acting agreeably to our wish : then began a heavy fire of musquetry from each side of the road, and from behind the hedges on our army ; which continued on both sides without intermission, for two hours : the cannon ceased, owing to the narrow pass, as also the horses being killed in the traces. We were ordered to take a field in front of their fire : here we disputed the ground for half an hour, when eleven brave fellows of our regiment fell on each side of me. I am now bound in gratitude to acknowledge the kindness of God to me—while loading my piece, the cartridge was taken out of my fingers by a ball, within four inches of my head, and my pantaloons torn across by another—but the issues of life were in the hands of a kind preserver. Col. Walpole received a ball in the thigh, and in a moment after another through the head ; by which means this brave soldier fell a victim. A ball went through Colonel Cope's horse's ear, which grazed his cheek, and passed through his hat, while commanding the men—several officers were wounded in like manner. In a little time their line broke, which we took for an omen of their defeat ; but this was only to deceive us—for their two wings set up the *war-hoop*, and made for Gorey, to cut off our retreat, which had been ordered to be made. Eighteen of our men, with Colonel Cope and Ensign Collins, were left behind in the meadows—having learned that the body of our army were gone, we were determined to fight our way after them. It was truly painful, as we passed along, to behold our cannon on the road useless to us—the pikemen with exultation leaping across them, displaying their emblems of disaffection over them, crying “ *Erin go bragh*, the English cannon is ours”—also the groans of the wounded, whose bodies torn and pierced by pikes, while yet living, rendered the scene altogether very awful ! we not knowing but this would

shortly be our fate : but God was with *us*—we fought, and loaded while running, and endeavouring to avoid the fire of our own cannon, which were turned upon us by the rebels. We passed by Tubberneerreen-rock, where their green flag was displayed, and killed one of their chieftains on horse-back ; also a number who pressed after us. Arriving at the hill of Gorey (tho' scarcely able to move,) we made another stand, and saved the lives of the Protestants of the town, who otherwise (as they declared) would not have escaped. Numbers who wore *ribbands* as loyalists in the morning, fired out of windows on us at our return—yet not a man fell ! In this encounter we lost in killed and missing, one hundred men, some of whom we afterwards relieved at Vinegar-hill.

I would here remark the necessity there is of picquets reconnoitering the country while brigades are on their march, to prevent the enemy from approaching till the troops should be prepared to receive them ; had this been the case, we should not have been defeated. After the battle we got to Arklow, where we destroyed every thing military which we could not take off with us, and returned next day to Wicklow.

P. S. The cavalry made several unsuccessful charges during the battle—they could not act on account of the enclosures. A vast number of rebels fell on that day, as they since have acknowledged. Thus have I transmitted to you the particulars of this dreadful event, and am, dear friend,

Yours, &c.

W. H. G.

LETTER II.

KILCULLEN, JULY 20, 1799.

SIR,

THE following lines shall be found as authentic as could possibly be collected by me, with respect to the battles of Kilcullen and Old Kilcullen, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1798. It will be proper in the first place to premise, that Lieut. Gen. D——s had early information of the rebels intention of rising; and so well was he convinced of it, that he dispatched two men of Captain Latouche's corps of yeomen cavalry, at ten o'clock on the night of the twenty-third (namely Mr. J. Farrange, and Mr. H. Gribbin,) to Ballymore-Eustace, to put the troops there on their guard that night. The strength of that town was one troop of the ninth dragoons, commanded by Captain Beevor, and twenty men of the Tyrone militia light company, commanded by Lieutenant M'Farland.

BATTLE OF BALLYMORE.

THE rebels surprised this small garrison about twelve o'clock at night, whilst they were all in bed, except a corporal's guard, consisting of six men, from which a centinel was posted on the residence of the officers, who all lodged in one house. The rebels fired at the centry, whom they left as dead (he is perfectly recovered of his wounds,) and then attacked the guard, who fought their way up to the officers lodging, where they met six of the Tyrone, who had assembled with Lieutenant M'Farland—and those men, with a few more, kept up so well-directed a fire, that they routed the rebels, in number not less than one thousand. Many of them were killed. The loss of the army was Lieut. M'Farland, of the Tyrone militia, and four privates, killed—five wounded; the ninth dragoons, six killed and several wound-

ed. The rebels rallied several times, and attempted to come in at different parts of the town, but were always repulsed.

BUT to return, I have said above that Mr. Farrange and Mr. Gribbin were sent to Ballymore—they were going on together, conversing, probably not apprehensive of danger, when, behold, they rode in among a body of pikemen that were coming to attack this town! Gribbin happened to be a few yards before Farrange, who instantly wheeled his horse, came back to Kilcullen, and alarmed our little garrison, who were till then perfectly at their ease (Gribbin was severely piked, but is perfectly recovered.) In a few minutes our garrison was under arms; It consisted of a Captain (Beale) and twenty of the Suffolk fencibles, Captain La Touche and about thirty of his corps, a serjeant and nine of the Romney fencible cavalry, and a corporal and six of the ninth dragoons. As soon as the alarm was given, all the cavalry went out to scour the country, and the infantry remained patrolling from the turnpike to the cross roads, the whole night, till six in the morning. About two o'clock, the cavalry sent in a rebel, who was going to join his party—he was instantly tied up and flogged—he confessed that he was going to Mullacash-hill, to join a large body of rebels, and from thence he said they were to march to Naas, to attack that place—which they actually did. As soon as he gave this piece of information, an express was instantly sent to Naas by a dragoon (Mr. H. Barker,) to warn them of their danger; but the rebels had reached Naas before the express arrived, and had entered the town at every avenue and commenced the attack, which lasted but a very short time, until they were completely defeated, leaving one hundred and thirty dead in the streets and fields, and a vast number wounded.

THE next alarm we had here, was from Judge Downes, who happened to lodge in this town one night, on his way to Cork, I believe to try prisoners

on a special commission ; he set off from this about eight in the morning of the 24th, and having got as far as the green of Old Kilcullen, one mile from this town, his postillion pulled up the horses, and told his master that there were a great number of pikemen at the church, and about the hill—the Judge instantly drove back, and informed the General thereof, who rode up to meet the rebels, with the Romneys and such of the 9th dragoons as were here ; in all 15, with Capt. Cooke of the Romneys, and Capt. Erskine of the 9th.

BATTLE OF KILCULLEN.

THE rebels were very advantageously posted to act against cavalry, as they occupied the church-yard, surrounded by a parapet wall. As soon as the cavalry had advanced pretty well up the hill, the rebels rushed out of the church-yard, attacked the cavalry with great fury, drove them a considerable way down the green, killed Capt. Cooke, two privates of the Romneys, and two or three horses ; they also killed two or three of the 9th, and wounded several of both regiments, then returned exulting to their former position. At this instant arrived Capt. Beale, with 20 men, and about 14 of the loyalists of Kilcullen : the cavalry did not think proper to give the infantry the way, but advanced in great spirits to charge the rebels again, (sword in hand) as they had done before, and were again defeated, with the loss of Capt. Erskine, two or three men and several wounded. The infantry were still pushing forward to the church-yard, where the rebels were again posted after their second charge, and thought they could not be beaten from it ; but as soon as the infantry came up, Capt. Beale divided his little party, gave his serjeant the command of six men, and sent him to an opposite part of the wall, to that where the Captain stood with his men, in order I suppose to obtain a cross-fire on the rebels, who never stood a volley but one,

when they fled with great precipitation—there were but five or six of them killed, and some wounded; the rebels wounded one of the Suffolks severely in the hand with a pike, and killed serjeant Clarke of the 9th, who marched up with the infantry, not having a horse to join his own regiment: it was by his own intrepidity he suffered, as he leaped over the wall, and rushed among the throng of the rebels—this terminated the business of that place.

I imagine this business would have been much more serious to the army and loyalists, had it not been for either the policy, or cowardice of *General Perkins*, who was posted on Knockawlin hill, with about 300 pike-men, and when the fight was going on, he and his men advanced running down from the hill to join their comrades, whom they had seen successful against the cavalry, but they halted short, and staid lurking about the ditches, and behind the carman's-inn, when they perceived the infantry had got the better of the rebels at the church. I must here take notice that when the infantry and loyalists were marching forward to attack the rebels at the church, the 14 loyalists were ordered to halt, lest they should be shot through mistake, as they were all in coloured cloaths. Capt. French then came up, and ordered us back to defend the town as well as we could, that we were all surrounded. It was then that we saw Perkins and his men coming down, and we would have been surrounded by them had it not been for the defeat of their friends at the church. When we came back to Kilcullen, we could discern in the countenances of the men and women, joy mixed with feigned grief: for some hours we found ourselves in a very ticklish situation, every one around us rebels, and did not know the moment they would rise and assassinate us, when we were relieved from our fears, by a party of the Antrim militia, arriving, afterwards a party of the Tyrone militia, and the remainder of the troops from Ballymore who escaped the slaughter. They remained under arms in the

street for about an hour and an half, when General Dundas returned from the battle at Old Kilcullen with the remainder of the troops who went with him. Capt. Erskine's troop of the 9th, from Athy, Capt. Beale's 20 Suffolks and Capt. La Touche's corps of cavalry. At the instant these troops were entering the town, there was word brought in from the turnpike side of the road, that the rebels were very near the town, in great force: they certainly were in force to the amount of 2000, formed into three different columns; the first was the most numerous, and extended across the road, and into the fields on the right and left of it, and were drawn up in good order: they were not more than two minutes march from us, when the intelligence arrived. No time was lost in going out against this great force—the attack commenced on the part of the rebels, by a discharge of fire-arms, not one of which took the least effect: their fire was returned by the army most briskly and after a few volleys the whole rebel line broke and ran off as fast as their feet could carry them. They were now pursued by both cavalry and infantry, who slew them like philistines—in the course of twenty minutes 460 rebels lay dead; the wounded were very considerable. The army brought in three cart loads of pikes, and a stand of colours, which their valient Ensign Mr. Pendrose, threw away thinking them rather cumbersome in his flight: this brave Ensign lived servant with Eyre Powel Esq. No single man of the army was hurt in this engagement, except Campbell, the permanent serjeant of Capt. La Touche's yeomen cavalry, who was accidentally shot through the body by one of the soldiers—he is now almost recovered. We thought everything would be tranquil after this, but in the evening the whole of the troops and loyal inhabitants, were ordered to evacuate the town, and march to Naas: the inhabitants had not time to bring their effects with them, and the next morning the 25th, the rebels entered the town in great force; men, women and children.

dren, pillaged and carried away all the valuables they could lay hands on, and destroyed the houses and furniture of the loyalists.

ON the evening of the twenty-fourth of May, 1798, the army which I mentioned being in Kilcullen, together with the loyalists, marched for Naas, where they arrived about nine o'clock at night. The army was the first of course who were accommodated, and the poor loyalists were obliged to remain in the streets all that night—a very deplorable prospect! but it turned out better than was expected; for they were culled out by order of the Generals, and a proper house appointed for them, where they were served out with beef, mutton, bread, &c. from the army stores. Nor had they any other way of getting provisions, for there was not an atom of any kind to be purchased—all sorts of provision were in requisition for the army. Every day foraging parties were sent out, who brought in great quantities of fat cattle and sheep—bakers and butchers were set to work;—so that there was plenty of every kind of provision that could possibly be expected in a garrison that might be said to be besieged. Notwithstanding all this plenty, our minds were very miserable for a few days, from the constant alarms both day and night; not an hour passed with any degree of tranquillity—a vidette would come galloping in, with tidings that the rebels were coming in great force; that they would be in in less than ten minutes—the drums beating to arms, trumpets sounding to horse, soldiers running to their posts, both horse and foot—some to guard a pass, others to cover a retreat, others to make a charge, with an army of reserve, &c. &c. This was our situation during the five days I was there; but after the first day and night, those terrors became so habitual to us, that we did not mind them, but were prepared to meet with undaunted courage any number of rebels; and often have we wished they would attack the town either by day or night. And although Naas is a town with very many en-

trances to it (indeed every back door furnishes an entrance,) yet every part was so well guarded, that it was impossible for any force, without the assistance of cannon, to attempt coming near it; for at the south end of the town is a large hill, immediately contiguous to the road leading into the town, and half the circumference of this hill is surrounded by a wall ten feet high; on this hill were encamped about a company of infantry, with three pieces of heavy cannon, and engineers to work them. At the North end of the town is a very high and large moat, which commands all that quarter where they could possibly make any attempt; on this moat were two pieces of cannon, with suitable equipage, and some infantry. In fact, every part was so well guarded, that the *croppies* never made an attempt after the night of the twenty-fourth, for which they suffered woefully, having left sixty five dead behind them in the streets. Scarcely a day passed but there were several rebels hanged, who were found lurking about the fields; one in particular, Mr. Pat. Walsh of Ballytore, was taken in a field near Naas, hiding in the gripe of a ditch; he was remarkably well dressed, had a bottle of port, bread and cheese, in his pockets when taken. He was brought in, tried, found guilty, and hanged from a sign-post, and afterwards, consumed to ashes—a just punishment for what he was guilty of but a few nights before, namely, the burning of a most active fine fellow, Captain Swaine, of the City Cork Royal militia, at Prosperous. This notorious traitor, Walsh, behaved with unparalleled cruelty, to a number of loyal persons; but, blessed be God, his career was short, for only four days had he fought under the banners of an assassinating banditti, till the strong hand of the Lord avenged the cause of innocent blood. Perkins is at present under sentence of transportation, and is in New-Geneva, and as I mentioned before, was general of the rebels at Knockcalling-hill, about a quarter of a mile from the church of Old Kilcullen.

On the twenty-eighth, Thomas Kelly, Esq. of Madden's-Town, near the Curragh, came into Naas, with proposals from Perkins to General Dundas and General Wilford (he is a magistrate, and went to the rebel camp, where by his persuasions he effected terms of peace) which are as follow : " That Perkins would oblige his men (who were now collected to the number of above two thousand) to give up their arms, on condition that his brother should be liberated from Naas gaol (for we brought him a prisoner from Kilkullen,) and that General Dundas should approach the camp with only his aid-du-camp's and a file of men." Mr. Kelly having communicated these terms to General Dundas; he instantly dispatched his aid-du-camp Captain Reeves, to Dublin, to lay the business before Government ; nor did General Dundas give Mr. Kelly an answer, until Captain Reeves arrived early on the following morning. I believe the answer he brought to General Dundas was, "to act as he thought most prudent." A short time after Mr. Kelly returned with Perkins, from the rebel camp, and every thing was accommodated as General Dundas thought proper. Perkins returned to the camp, and his brother was liberated, and went under a strong escort of the 9th dragoons, to protect him from the soldiers, who I believe would have preferred a combat with the rebels, rather than compromise the business.

However the day after Perkins and his brother left Naas, General Dundas with part of the army, both cavalry and infantry, with some pieces of artillery, went to Knockcalling camp—the troops were placed in a way to surround them, at least to cut them off, when they were once dislodged from the summit of the hill, (which is an amazing strong Danish fort, surrounded by a very large and deep trench, with a wall within-side) it would not have been easy to dislodge them by bombs, for which purpose mortars were brought. As soon as the army had made the necessary dispositions, General Dundas with his aid-du-camps, and a few men went forward from the lines,

and Perkins with a few of his men approached them and surrendered: the rebels on the hill perceiving this, set off in all directions, huzzaing, I fancy with joy that they were permitted to go to their homes; most in this neighbourhood immediately returned home—a great number from other parts instantly set off for Vinegar-hill. There were no provisions found in the camp, every thing being taken off the day preceding; there were thirteen cart loads of pikes left on it, which were brought into Kilcullen and destroyed. For three weeks they were flocking in from all parts of this district, taking the oath of allegiance, and getting protections; several notwithstanding were taken shortly afterwards in acts of open rebellion, with these very protections in their pockets, a plain proof of part of their creed “that no faith is to be kept with a protestant King, or with protestants” whom they call heretics. The next day after the forementioned, a large body of rebels collected on the Curragh, at an old Danish-fort commonly known by the name of Gibbit Rath, for the purpose of attacking the City of Dublin militia, who they knew were on their march to Naas, and were to come directly by where the rebels were assembled: now some say they were collected for the purpose of surrendering; be that as it may, they were the first who violated the treaty, by firing on the troops. You may be sure it was then returned quick enough—they stood but one discharge from the army, when they fled in every direction: Lord Jocelyn’s fox-hunters coming up in the instant pursued them and killed 350; there were also found a vast number; the rebels could not have taken worse ground for to make a defence, as there was neither bog nor ditch, to impede their pursuers—those fox-hunters as they are called, certainly would not have left one of them alive, had it not been for the trumpets and bugles having sounded a retreat, in consequence of an express sent by General Dundas from Kilcullen for the purpose of preventing the army (which he knew was coming in that direction) from

attacking any rebels they should meet: but the express was too late; had it been a few minutes sooner, in all probability much human blood would have been saved. One circumstance happened here, which I cannot pass by unnoticed—the Rev. Mr. Williamson of Kildare, had been brought out by the rebels, who, when the army was approaching, made his escape to them; the Dublin militia insisted he was a priest, heading the rebels, and were so incensed against him, that they were really in the act of fixing a chain belonging to the cannon about his neck, in order to hang him, when his brother-in-law, Col. Sankey, coming up, convinced them of their mistake, and saved him.—Here is one instance of the consequences of civil war, where the innocent often suffer for the guilty: this amiable gentleman narrowly escaped an untimely death, by the precipitancy of those gentlemen who did not know him.

I HAVE only to add, that on evacuating Kilcullen, the rebels entered, accompanied by an immense croud of women—that while in possession of the same, every species of excess, was resorted to by them—their first object was to plunder the loyal inhabitants houses, drain the cellars and destroy their furniture, &c.—This we have been credibly informed by a loyal woman who had been made prisoner, and whose husband they brought to their camp and shot.—Mr. Flanagan the executioner, ordering him to drop down on his knees, and open his mouth, he thrust a pistol into it, crying aloud as he pulled the trigger, “come you scoundrel, here’s a health to King George, and long may he reign.”—Thus fell that loyal old veteran quarter-master King of the 9th dragoons, leaving two sons in same regiment, one of whom was desperately wounded at Ballymore—hoping the foregoing, may answer your intended work.

I REMAIN, SIR,

YOURS, &c.

L. M.

LETTER III.

NEWTOWN-BARRY, AUGUST 12th, 1799.

SIR,

NOTHING but your repeated applications, together with the respect I entertain for you, could have induced me to attempt stating the account for which you have so entreated—Capt. K. to whom you say you have written, could certainly do the subject more justice, and your publication service: however, you and the world may rely upon the following to be *facts*.

Sometime previous to the attack upon this village, we were kept in a state of alarm, in consequence of the multiplied reports respecting the rebels—the result was, that our (yeomenry) duty became both constant and severe. On the 1st of June 1798, about twelve o'clock at noon, the rebels (10,000 in number) marched from Vinegar and Lacken hills against our town, fully bent upon exterminating all who should be found inimical to their system—they were descried by a reconnoitering party, headed by our gallant Capt. Kerr, as they advanced on both sides of the river Slaney, led on by Doyle, priests Kerns and Redmond, &c.

BATTLE OF NEWTON-BARRY.

NO sooner had their approach been announced, than our forces prepared to receive them. We had at this time about four hundred of the King's county militia, with two pieces of cannon; eighty of the 4th dragoons, also twenty Carlow cavalry; eighty infantry, and thirty loyalists, to oppose so great an host! "But the battle is not to the strong," the event fully demonstrated.

The rebels from an adjacent hill, commenced a brisk fire upon the town from a brass six-pounder; a howitzer, and some ship swivels, accompanied by irregular volleys of musquetry; but without any effect

—our position was very strong—every breast burned with ardour for an onset. This was however overruled for sometime ; and by order of Colonel L'Estrange, of the King's county militia, we retreated a small distance from the town. The rebels concluding we were dismayed, poured into it like a mighty torrent, from the slate quarry, and other hills. You may easily judge the effect such a scene must have had upon those among us, who had both our families, friends, and a considerable property therein—all likely to suffer from the ferocity of the ruthless horde—our fears were soon confirmed, as the rebels instantly set fire to the suburbs, plundered the army-baggage, and were proceeding to pillage many houses, when they were most gallantly resisted by a few loyalists from different houses. A universal cry for an immediate attack now ran throughout all the ranks, and after much intreaty, was complied with by C. L. It commenced by a few discharges from our cannon—this had the desired effect ; it threw them into great confusion, which was increased from the fierce attack we made on them, and the fire from our small arms. Captain Kerr now headed a set of brave fellows, accompanied by Major Marlay, who volunteered on this occasion. We charged the rebels up the hills, pursuing them several miles, all the way cutting them down in great numbers. In their flight they left behind them their cannon-shot, pikes, and some plunder, &c. Upwards of three hundred and fifty were killed—the first complete defeat they had experienced in the county of Wexford. Providentially, our loss was only one loyalist killed, and one of Captain Cornwall's troop wounded.

THE rebels, on entering the town, forced into several cellars, &c. where they indulged themselves with such wines and spirits, &c. as came first to hand—nor did they at all suppose they should be dispossessed. They set the church on fire, and had it not been for our success in routing them, many innocent lives would have been forfeited.

THIS victory (which by some may be deemed as inconsiderable) was surely important, on the following account. *First*, it stopped their progress in their intended direction ; for had they taken Newtown-Barry, it would have formed an open for them into the counties of Carlow, Kildare, King and Queen's-counties. *Secondly*, it must have clearly demonstrated to them, what a few men will perform when espousing a *good cause* ; and this also should convince them, that the God of armies enabled us to fight this battle. *Thirdly*, Newtown-Barry would have proved a grand *central position*—here they could have collected powerful forces from the collieries and the adjacent counties—all ripe for rebellion. This, no doubt, induced them to attack us previous to Ross or Arklow ; for as I have been well informed, the *rebel plan* was, immediately after their taking Newtown-Barry, to proceed to Arklow, and thence to—Dublin!

THE valour of both officers and men was signally great—particularly Lieut. Col. Westenra, Major Marlay, Captain Kerr, of Newtown-Barry troop, and Captain Jennings, 4th dragoons.

HAVING transmitted to you Sir, nothing but stubborn facts, I subscribe myself,

Your real friend and well-wisher,

R. W.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Hugh O'Reilly, Lieut. Col. of the Westmeath Regiment of Militia, to Lieutenant General Sir James Stewart, at Cork.

BANDON, JUNE 20, 1798.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to inform you, that a party of the Westmeath regiment, consisting of two hundred and twenty men, rank and file, with two six-pounders (under my command,) were attacked on our march from

Cloghnakilty to Bandon, near a village called Ballynascarty, by the rebels, who took up the best position on the whole march.

THE attack was made from a height on the left of our column of march, with very great rapidity, and without the least previous notice, by between three and four hundred men, as nearly as I can judge, armed mostly with pikes, and very few fire arms. We had hardly time to form, but very soon repulsed them with considerable loss, when they retreated precipitately, but not in great confusion; and when they regained the height, I could perceive they were joined by a very considerable force. I, with the greatest difficulty and risk to the officers, restrained the men, halted and formed the greater part of them, when I saw that the enemy were filing off a high flank, with an intent to take possession of our guns.

A DETACHMENT of one hundred men of the Caithness legion, under the command of Major Innes, was on its march to replace us at Cloghnakilty, and hearing our fire, pressed forward, and very critically fired upon them whilst we were forming, and made them fly in every direction with great precipitation. At the same moment, a very considerable force shewed itself on the heights in our rear. A vast number of pikes appeared some with hats upon them, and other signals, I suppose in order to collect their forces. I ordered the guns to prepare for action, and very fortunately brought them to bear upon the enemy with good effect; as they dispersed in a short time, and must have left a considerable number dead. Some were killed in attempting to carry away the dead bodies. It is impossible to ascertain the loss of the enemy, but a dragoon, who came this morning from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, reports that their loss is one hundred and thirty.

I FEEL most highly gratified by the conduct and spirit of the officers and men of the Westmeath regiment; and had only to complain of the too great ardour of the latter, which it was almost impossible to

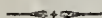
restrain. I cannot give too much praise to Major Innes, Captain Innes, and all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the Caithness legion for their cool, steady conduct, and the very effectual support I received from them. Our loss was one sergeant and one private.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed)

HU. O'REILLY,

Lieut. Col. Westmeath regiment.



*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Lake,
to Lord Castlereagh.*

WEXFORD, JUNE 23, 1798.

Mr Lord.

YESTERDAY afternoon I had the honor to dispatch a letter to your Lordship, from Enniscorthy, with the transactions of that day, for his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's information;—and the inclosed copy of a letter from Brigadier-General Moore to Major-General Johnston, will account for my having entered this place without opposition. General Moore, with his usual enterprise and activity, pushed on to this town, and entered it so opportunely, as to prevent it from being laid in ashes, and the massacre of the remaining prisoners, which the rebels declared their intention of carrying into execution the very next day; and there can be little doubt would have taken place; for the day before they murdered above seventy* prisoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

INCLOSED is a copy of my answer to the proposals of the inhabitants of this town, transmitted in my letter of yesterday to your Lordship: the evacuation of

* Recent accounts state the number to be ninety-five.

the town by the rebels renders it unnecessary. I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, that the subscriber of the insolent proposals, Mr. Keughe ! and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roache ! with a few others, are in my hands without negotiation.



*TERMS PROPOSED BY THE REBELS IN
THE TOWN OF WEXFORD.*

“THAT Captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants, of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the King's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding-officer ; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, Captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

Signed, by order of the inhabitants of Wexford.

‘MATT. KEUGHE.’



*LIEUTENANT-GEN. LAKE's ANSWER TO
Mr. KEUGHE's PROPOSAL.*

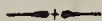
“Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their Sovereign ; while they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to him, with the utmost energy, for their destruction.

To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed)

G. LAKE."

Enniscorthy, June 22, 1798.



*Extract of a Letter from Brigadier-General Moore to
Major-General Johnston.*

CAMP ABOVE WEXFOD, JUNE 22, 1798.

DEAR GENERAL,

AGREEABLE to your order, I took post on the evening of the 19th, near Fooke's-mill, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I sent a strong detachment, under Lieutenant Col. Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and communicate with the troops you had directed to join me from Duncannon. The Lieutenant-Colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them until three o'clock in the afternoon, when, despairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile, when a considerable body of rebels was perceived marching towards us. I sent my advanced guard, consisting of the two rifle companies of the 60th, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer and a six-pounder were advanced to a cross-road above Goff's-bridge, and some light infantry formed on each side of them, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson. The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed, and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived at the same time moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards Major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The 60th regiment, finding no further opposition in front, had,

of themselves, inclined to their left, to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a short time pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both musquets and pikes. They were, however, forced to give way, and driven (though they repeatedly attempted to form) behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford. Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields, over a considerable extent; but they seemed to be numerous. The troops behaved with great spirit. The artillery, and Hompesch's cavalry, were active, and seemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

THE business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight; it was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the 2d and 9th regiments, under Lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the 21st, we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North-Cork from Wexford, with the inclosed letters: I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town; by which means I have, perhaps, saved the town itself, from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels.—The rebels fled upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth.

I RECEIVED your penciled note during the action of the 20th; it was impossible for me then to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have succeeded at Enniscorthy with those you had. Your presence speedily is, upon every account, extremely necessary.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN MOORE.

LETTER IV.

KILLS, AUGUST 14, 1799.

SIR,

ON receipt of your first letter, it was my determination to state, for your publication, the particulars of the engagement you so much desired, from the journal I kept. They will be found perfectly accurate, and are as follow—

IN the month of May, 1798, Captain Molloy, of the Upper Kells infantry, held the arduous situation of commanding-officer at Kells, in the county of Meath. On the 24th he received the following letter by express from Navan.

Tholsel of Navan, May 24, 1798, 5 o'clock,

SIR

A PRIVATE soldier of Captain George's yeomenry, came here about an hour since, and gave us the following account—"That an escort conveying baggage to Dublin, were met on the road leading to Dublin and near Dunboyne, by a body of insurgents—that an attack commenced between them, in which the military were worsted, and every man of the escort killed." It is generally apprehended that the insurgents are on their march to this town, having planted the tree of liberty at Dunshaughlin; it is therefore requested that you will be pleased to send immediately such a detachment as you can spare here, to assist and protect us. We are, Sir, with much respect, your most obedient servants.

JOHN PRESTON, Captain,
 PHILIP BARRY, Lieut. of the
 Navan cavalry,
 F. D. HAMILTON, Portrieve.

ON receipt of the above, the yeomen-cavalry and infantry immediately marched off to Navan. There being no appearance of disturbance at that time in the neighbourhood, Capt. Molloy thought it prudent immediately to return to Kells, where there was no protection for the inhabitants, and also a *depot* of ammunition in the town, which particularly demanded his attention: the force in Navan was very inconsiderable, consisting only of the Navan troop. A council of war was called, wherein it was determined that the Kells cavalry, with a detachment of the Navan troop, should go forwards toward Dunshaughlin, and reconnoitre the country. On the 25th, the following express arrived from Navan at Kells.

NAVAN, MAY 25, 1798.
SIR,

PREPARE your yeomenry immediately, as an insurrection has appeared from Dublin to Dunshaughlin, and numbers have been murdered. Communicate this to all the other officers.

Yours, &c.
THOMAS BARRY, *Lieut.*
CAPTAIN MOLLOY, KELS.

THIS evening two of the Kells cavalry came in express, and brought an account of their seeing the rebel army near Dunshaughlin, on the Dublin side, in great force. Capt. Molloy ordered the men who came express, to return to their corps, and keep up the communication with Kells, and at the same time sent express to Captain Tatto, of the Bally-james-duff yeomen-infantry, who arrived in Kells at two o'clock, the morning of the 26th, with his corps.

PRECISELY at three o'clock the same morning, the Upper Kells infantry marched off their parade, resolved to conquer or die—they passed early over Ta-

ra. Near Killeen they overtook a party of the Reay fencibles, on their route to Dublin, commanded by Captain Scobie, and also the Upper Kells Cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Rothwell, with other corps of yeomen-cavalry—this body arrived at Dunshaughlin about eight o'clock in the forenoon. The country seemed alive with rebels—individuals running from one point to another, but so cautiously, and at such a distance, that they could not be intercepted—at that time it was not known where the main body of the rebels were. Two days preceding this, they entered the town of Dunshaughlin in great force; and in the house of the Rev. Mr. Nelson, murdered him, his brother-in-law Mr. Pentland, and a gardner, who was a protestant. They also made a prisoner of Mr. Kellet, of the King's-arms; Mr. Ambrose Sharmen, attorney, with others; one of whom they also murdered (Mr. Fletcher)—the remainder escaped.

The yeomen's spirits were this day differently affected—at one time elated, hoping to be led on to action—at another depressed; as Capt. Scobie determined not to look for the rebels, but should he meet them on his route would attack them, but not otherwise—his orders were to proceed directly for Dublin. For which purpose, he did actually move out of Dunshaughlin, and Captain Molloy resolving not to remain in an enemy's country with so small a body as his corps, determined to return to Kells that day; and had returned out of Dunshaughlin a quarter of a mile for that purpose, but being followed by a friend, was advised not to proceed, as there was a report that the rebels were then encamped on *Tara-hill* in great force, which induced Captain Molloy to form the resolution of overtaking the Reay fencibles, and accompanying them to Dublin; but as the yeomen had advanced to the upper end of Dunshaughlin, they had the happiness to see the Reay fencibles returning, with whom they marched and took the field without the town, where the whole regiment remained on their arms till three o'clock that evening; when

an officer, who proved to be Captain Blanch of the above regiment, on his return from Dublin, entered the field, with orders it was said to fight the rebels where they could be come up with. On his appearance, the men gave three cheers, and were highly animated : they were ordered refreshment, of which the yeomen equally partook. Three companies of the Reay regiment only, and captain Molloy's yeomen corps, not amounting to more than one hundred and ninety infantry, with one piece of artillery, were ordered on this expedition, with six troops of yeomen-cavalry : these troops were placed equally on the right and left of the infantry, in which order they marched from Dunshaughlin to *Tara*, about five miles.

BEFORE they arrived at Mr. Lynch's house of *Tara*, they perceived the rebel videts, both horse and foot, who immediately wheeled off to their main body, when they perceived the army advancing. On arriving at the large fort at Mr. Lynch's, the army got in full view of the rebel camp on the hill of *Tara* ; the fields around appeared black with rebels. On perceiving the army, they instantly got into motion—their chiefs mounted, and in about ten minutes formed their line, which was extended very far, and very deep, with three pair of green colours.

THE rebels availed themselves of a most excellent position,—the church-yard of *Tara*, surrounded by a wall, which commanded the Dublin road. At this period, that spirited officer, Capt. Blanch, called the yeomen infantry officers to him, and informed them he had no orders to give, except to lead on their divisions with courage to the action.

BATTLE OF *TARA*.

AND now, commenced an engagement, as eventful for the county of Meath as ever took place therein, and perhaps for the kingdom at large ; for had the rebels succeeded, their numbers would from partial

advantages, have increased, and in the end, very many would have fallen victims to those sanguinary tribes.—But the divine disposer of all human events conducted our army to, and secured us victory in this battle. It is our part to return him our continued thanks for the fate of that day.

THE rebels, upon the approach of the infantry, put their hats* on their pikes, the entire length of their line, and gave three cheers. A person now advanced from their line towards the army (who seemed to assume the command), made a very pompous salute, and returned back with great precipitation—he was dressed in white, was a deserter from the Kildare militia, but imposed himself on many of the rebels for a *Frenchman*, which gave the deluded wretches great spirits.

It was half past six o'clock when the action commenced—immediately some of the army lay dead from the fire of the rebels. The six-pounder was on the right, from which there were many discharges, but impeded by obstacles between the road and church-yard;—to obtain the church-yard was the grand object—the little LOYAL PARTY advanced, regardless of danger, notwithstanding the frantic impetuosity and number of rebels who attempted to turn them on each flank, and incessantly came down in strong parties, from the church-yard, to the muzzles of their pieces, pike in hand; but they instantly experienced the result of their temerity, with the loss of their lives—not one of the royalists flinched, though his brother in arms and dearest friend fell by his side.

* *From concurring accounts it appears, that the rebel plan was uniformly adhered to—viz. to annoy the royal troops by driving among them such cattle, &c. as they could collect—by endeavouring to dismay them by means of their shouts, and their hats placed on their pikes;—also, when engaged, by exertions to seize the cannon—but what stratagem, what force could have succeeded in such a cause?*

The conflict continued from the period above mentioned (half past six), until dark, when they gallantly entered the church-yard ! The rebels now fled from their strong post, and were pursued with great slaughter. At this time the cannon was unemployed at the church-yard gate, when a large column of the rebels appeared on the road, with intent to surround and cut off a small party of the yeomen who had taken possession of the church-yard : Captain Molloy commanded three artillery-men, who remained with the gun, to take it to the road ; but he was informed their gunner was killed—upon his assisting they immediately obeyed. The gun was no sooner placed, than the rebels were at the muzzle ; a number actually had their hands on it—the gun being fired made very great carnage. The unexpected discharge gave them a very great check—they still persisted to seize it ; for which purpose they collected from all points, and made a lodgement behind a wall adjoining the road, which turned to Mr. Brabazon's, from whence they commenced a heavy fire, but providentially without effect.

Captain Molloy had now ordered that the cannon should not fire till he gave the word.—This encouraged the rebels to advance (supposing the ammunition was exhausted)—they were permitted to come forward in prodigious force, greatly elated ; but Captain Molloy here evinced both the wisdom, coolness, and valour of an experienced general, and patiently waited till he had the enemy in such a situation as to do great execution ; when he ordered the cannon to fire. This being a few times repeated, determined the fate of the day. In a few minutes not a rebel was to be seen.—Their loss was very considerable. Twenty-six of the Reay-fencibles were killed and wounded—one of the Upper Kells infantry killed, and five wounded.

THE cavalry had not an opportunity of acting this day (except individually), the country being so close, and the rebels so strongly posted : Lord Fingall behaved with great spirit, and acted as bravely as cir-

cumstances would admit, having led on the Navan troop ; a also Captain Barnes, who commanded the Lower Kells troop, &c.

THE army retired to Dunshaughlin without further interruption, amidst the joyful acclamations of the loyal inhabitants.

NEXT morning there were some troops sent out to reconnoitre the field of battle, who on their return reported there lay dead on the field, three hundred and fifty of the rebels ; many car loads of arms were found, of different descriptions, viz. pikes, musquets, fowling-pieces, pistols, swords, sythes, and reaping-hooks on poles, spits, pitchforks, &c. also three boxes of ammunition, taken from a party of the Reay regiment two days before at Clonee bridge ; of whom they killed seven, and took the remainder prisoners, (twenty in number), and all the baggage they were escorting to Dublin—the prisoners were taken at Tara.

UPON the return of the yeomenry to Kells, they were met by a multitude of the loyal inhabitants—welcomed—embraced—the tear of joy sensibly trickled down the cheek of the parent, the sister, the friend—the commanding-officer was presented with a laurel wreath ornamented with ribbons, prepared by the principal people in the neighbourhood—on entering the town of Kells, a groupe of ladies surrounded Captain Molloy, one of whom crowned him with laurel—the windows were decorated with emblems of victory—the bells rang—an elegant collation was laid out opposite the boarding-school, under the shade of some large sycamore-trees—the evening was devoted to mirth and joy—age and youth vied in loyal and convivial harmony.

WERE I to recount the brave conduct of each yeoman individually, it would no doubt be grateful to the reader ; but time and circumstances not permitting, oblige me to decline it. The officers of the Kells corps deserve every compliment this country can give ; Lieutenants Keating and Warner, conducted themselves with that spirit and bravery which ever

distinguishes the brave soldier—and as for Captain Molloy, the result of that day will ever keep him in the recollection of his friends and acquaintance.

P. S. To the memory of the brave men who fell in the field, the corps are erecting a handsome monument at Kells, with a suitable epitaph.

Thus, Sir, have I particularized every thing I supposed in any wise interesting—and am with great respect,

Yours, &c. &c.

LETTER V.

TINEHALY, OCTOBER 25, 1799.

SIR,

ON Whitsunday eve, 1798, Lieutenant Book-ey, of the Camolin yeomen-cavalry, being on piquet between his own house and Camolin, was surrounded and inhumanly murdered by a party of rebels, who brought him to his own house, which they burned; they also killed and wounded some of his party. At break of day the next night, a party of the yeomen-ry and true blues of Tinehaly, on piquet near Wicklow-gap, perceiving the house of (Smith) a yeoman, at Anagh, on fire, made towards it, and observing some people on the rocks of Conna-hill; they pursued them, and took five, one a well-dressed clever young man (son to Laughlin Finn, of Camolin, in the county of Wexford, a respectable farmer), upon whose clothes was discovered blood; they were then brought to the guard-house of Tinehaly, where an express arrived with the account of Mr. Bookey's murder; and as, upon examination, they could give no proper account of themselves, they were ordered back to Wicklow-gap, *there to be shot and buried*. It has since been more fully proved that they murdered Lieuten-

ant Bookey. The same morning another party of the yeomenry and true blues of Tinehaly, took one Doyle, at Kilpipe church-yard; it appeared that he had been a tenant to Mr. Bookey of Doneshall, brother to the deceased Lieutenant; he rode one horse and led another, and was after conveying a son of his to the county of Wicklow mountains, who had been concerned in the murder of Mr. Bookey—he was brought to Carnew, where he suffered death. Another party from Tinehaly, at Balington, took three men with pikes, who were afterwards shot near the church of Kilcommon. Wicklow-gap, and that part of the country, being the pass from the counties of Kildare and Wicklow to Wexford, there was not a night after until the seventeenth of June, that the same loyal people, and the yeomenry and loyalists of Shillelagh and that neighbourhood, by scouring the country, did not meet with more or less armed rebels (but not in great force) going back and forward, whom they dispatched,—not many of the loyalists lost their lives. A Mr. Mathias Dowse, and a lodger of his, were killed by a party of rebels the night before Colonel Walpole was defeated. On account of the defeat of Colonel Walpole, and the rebels being in possession of Gorey, &c. General Loftus retreated with his army, and gave directions that all the Shillelagh yeomenry and loyalists should evacuate that country, and march to some garrison town; upon which they all went to Hacket's-town. On the sixteenth of June, at night, twenty thousand rebels marched from Limerick camp near Gorey, to Mount Pleasant, near Tinehaly, intending to burn Tinehaly on the seventeenth (which they did), and on that night to march to and attack Hacket's-town, which they were well informed had but about four hundred yeomenry, and thirty of the Antrim militia for its protection; providentially, at twelve o'clock that day General Dundas, with a large army and train of artillery, marched in. Tinehaly being in view, and on fire, application was made to the General to relieve

it; he declined going himself, but gave the yeomenry permission; upon which, the Shillelagh infantry, Hacket's-town infantry, and one hundred and fifty of the True Blues, with Lord Roden's, Captain Hume's, the Shillelagh and Ballaghkeen troops of cavalry, volunteered, and marched under the command of Lord Roden. The rebels had piquets on the different hills round the town, and on the approach of the corps before-mentioned, they precipitately retreated to Mount Pleasant; on the infantry entering Tinehaly (by which some of the houses were saved), the rebels fired their cannon, but, providentially, there were no lives lost. Lieutenant Braddell, on Tinehaly-hill, narrowly escaped one of their balls, and on Captain Wainright's troop crossing the bridge of Tinehaly, two cannon balls lodged in the arch thereof. Lord Roden and Captain Hume's troop met with the rebel piquet that had been on Rossbawn-hill, and killed twenty-eight of them. On their passing through the church-lane to Tinehaly, branches of the trees were lopped off over their heads by the rebel cannon, yet not one of their party were killed. This has been accounted for since—those who pointed the cannon being the artillerymen belonging to Colonel Walpole, who were taken prisoners, and were determined to preserve the loyalists. The rebels, that night, instead of attacking Hacket's-town, quit Mount-Pleasant, and encamped at Kilcavan, where they were attacked next day, by General Dundas, and that night retreated towards Vinegar-hill. The yeomenry and loyalists on their return home, after the defeat of the rebels at Vinegar-hill, killed many of them who were found hiding, particularly Captain Doyle, of Knockbranden, by a Tinehaly True Blue.

A RECONNOITERING party, of about fifty men, went to Tineban, where they met with a number of cars laden with property, supposed to be taken from Ennis-corthy, escorted by at least one hundred and fifty rebels, men and women, whom they defeated, killing upwards of fifty. They proceeded to take the cars to

Tinehaly, but perceiving upwards of five hundred horsemen, on the road from Gorey (where they had murdered every Protestant they could meet,) pursuing them, the party was obliged, after taking the horses, to leave the cars behind. In this attack a rebel leader was killed, having one of the Castle-town cavalry helmets on him, which, with a cockade, and the horses, were brought into Tinehaly.

AFTER the defeat of the rebels at Vinegar-hill, the loyalists whose houses were saved, went home; about one o'clock in the morning of the thirtieth of June, a Gentleman living on an eminence near Tinehaly, on seeing the reflection of fire, went to the window of his room, from whence he saw several houses in the neighbourhood in a blaze, particularly on the way from Ridenagh rebel camp towards Mr. Brownrigg's of Wingfield, whose house they also set on fire. A rebel party went to burn the house of Mr. Thomas Dowse, but a reconnoitering party from the Tinehaly corps firing upon them, obliged them to fly. By this time the body of the rebels were going over Wicklow-gap, making for Carnew; an express was immediately sent there, with this account, and another to Gorey, which occasioned a party of the Ancient Britons, Gorey and Wingfield yeomenry corps, to march for the relief of Carnew; but unfortunately the rebels being so numerous, and from a disadvantage in the situation of the place, these last corps were nearly surrounded in the road at Ballyellis, and several, particularly the Ancient Britons, were killed; the women had stopped the only two passages by which the King's troops could escape, with timber, cars, kishes, &c. so that had it not been for an excellent manœuvre of about thirty of the yeomen-cavalry, who, (not being in uniform) leaving their horses, took possession of a dry pond, and entrenched themselves; the rebels supposed them to be their friends, surrounding these loyal people, whereby they might have put all of them to death; but these brave fellows fired from their intrenchments, killed several, and put the remainder in

such confusion, as gave such of the corps as had escaped an opportunity of making their way through the interrupted passages.

THE rebels, who were encamped at Ballymanus, and those at Camolin, met at Monaseed, where, upon holding a council of war, and being informed there were no troops in Carnew, but the yeomenry of the town, they determined to kill every Protestant, man, woman and child, therein, and destroy the town. An express being sent off to Tomacork, where the Coolattain corps, under Capt. Chamney, and the Tinchaly corps, under Capt. Moreton, were : they immediately marched to Carnew, and entered it at *one* end, just as the rebels were setting fire to the few remaining houses at the other, and Mr. Blayney's extensive distillery. These corps gave three cheers, and advanced up the street, while the Carnew corps, under Capt. Swan, commenced a heavy fire from the large malt-house they had occupied. This unexpected reception, after the horrid business they had been engaged in, threw the rebels into confusion, and they retreated into the county of Wexford, followed for a short distance by the yeomenry.

NEXT day the corps marched off to Ballyellis, and brought in the dead bodies of the loyalists, which were either interred in Carnew church-yard, or delivered to their friends. There were some very worthy and respectable people lost that day.

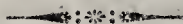
ON the morning of the second of July, two days after, the rebels, in great numbers, appeared in view of the town, but made no attempt on it ; they marched off towards Tullow, piking every Protestant they met with, particularly Messrs. G. Driver, the celebrated boot-maker of Tinchaly, William Waters of Ballykelly, and James Tuamley, all inoffensive harmless men ; but being pursued by the Shillelagh yeomenry corps, and joined on the road by the Wingfield cavalry, they wheeled about at Mullinacuff, and turned towards Tinchaly, until they came on Ballyrahine-hill.

BATTLE OF BALLYRAHINE-HILL.

HERE these yeomenry corps attacked them; and killed several; they were actually on the retreat when one of the corps having nearly exhausted their ammunition, gave way, which encouraged them so much, that they all poured down, and compelled the yeomenry corps to retreat. Capt. Moreton of the Tinehaly corps, and Lieutenant Chamney of the Coollattin corps, with about fifty men, retreated into Ballyrahine-house, on which the rebels commenced an attack, and kept it up until three o'clock next morning. They then encamped on Fort-town-hill, and burned the house there; they also set fire to Ballyrahine haggard and out-offices, and during the night were constantly endeavouring to set fire to the house. Several fellows in the act of doing so, advanced to the very hall-door, with furze, pitch, and straw, all covered with feather-beds; the son of a confidential servant of Captain Chamney's, was killed in the act of setting fire to the stables. It is now known, that at least one hundred and thirty were killed, besides many wounded, from Ballyrahine-house that night; having the advantage of the light from the burning of Fort-town-house on one side, and of the haggard on the other. They retreated early next morning (continuing their burning and killing) to Ballymanus.

THE celebrated Bridget Dolan, giving information on oath against murderers, lately told a circumstance worthy of notice, which happened that night. Several wounded rebels were taken into a cabin near Ballyrahine-house, to be dressed; *Biddy* was very active and handy at that business; her story was, that one man had come to that cabin for a coal of fire, and desired that several there might go with him, to see the *heretics* in Ballyrahine-house made ashes of. Several went with him, but in a short time the same man returned: when she asked him what brought him back so soon, he said he was wounded: upon which she desired him to sit down, until the other wounded men

were dressed ; when preparing to dress him, to her very great surprise, she found him dead, having expired without a groan or sigh. There was a rebel chief killed (supposed to be a priest,) who was carried to a cabin at New-town, where he lingered for some hours, and early in the morning, before they left Fort-town-hill, a party buried him at Mullinacuff church-yard ; from whence he was very lately taken, put into a coffin, and brought to the upper part of the county of Wexford. Had it not been for the deaths of two worthy and much regretted Captains Chamney and Nickson, a son of Lieutenant Chamney, and a few other respectable loyalists, who fell upon this occasion, this battle would have been as glorious and as well worthy of notice in your publication probably, as any other that happened. The different acts of courage, &c. of these loyal people, and the kindness of Providence in their escape, has been very signal, not one in the house was injured.



The Editor now presents to the reader some additional matter, Extracted from Jones, relative to the Wexford County Insurrection with which he will close the relation of it, in that part of Ireland.



An authentic Extract from the informatin of Mr. Grandy, at Duncannon-fort.

COUNTY OF WEXFORD, TO WIT.

RICHARD GRANDY of Ballystraco, in the county of Wexford, farmer, came this day before us his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, and maketh oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he was attacked and seized at the cross roads of Kilbride in said county on Sunday the third of June instant, be-

tween the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, by several persons armed with guns, pikes and spears; by many persons whose names this deponent knows not, though their faces were very familiar to him; that examinant was conducted to the rebel camp at Carrick-Byrne in said county; was brought to Mr. King's house at Scollabogue in said county; that he was introduced into a room where he saw Bagnel Harvey of Bargy-Castle in said county, Esq. with a few more whom deponent did not know; he deponent, was closely examined by the said Bagnel Harvey, as to the state of Ross and Duncannon Fort, and whether he was an Orange man or an United-man; that said Bagnel Harvey proffered him to take the oath of an United-Irishman, and become one of their community; that at last deponent obtained a pass from said Bagnel Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanstown, where he was stopped by the guard of rebels who brought him prisoner to Scollabogue-House, where he was confined till the Tuesday morning following, with many other Protestants; that about nine o'clock John Murphy of Loughnageer in said county who had the command of the Rosegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the prisoners, had ordered them out by fours to be shot by his company of rebels, till thirty-five were massacred; that the rebel spear-men used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through with spears, and in exultation, lick their bloody spears; that while this horrid scene was acting the barn at said Scollabogue, in which were above one hundred Protestants (as deponent heard and believes) was set on fire and consumed to ashes; that examinant's life was spared because said Murphy, knew said Bagnel Harvey had given him a pass, and through his intercession with said Murphy, Loftus Frizzell was likewise spared; sayeth they were both tyed and conveyed within a mile of Ross, where they met said Bagnel Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnstown in said county, Esq. said William Devereux, and many others un-

known to deponent, retreating from the battle of Ross, also saith that said Bagnel Harvey ordered said Murphy to take the prisoners to his lodgings at Collop's Well, where he gave a pass to Loftus Frizzell, but refused to give one to deponent, lest he should go to Duncannon Fort, and report what deponent had heard and seen ; saith that he heard and believes it to be a fact that said Cornelius Grogan had the command of the Barony of Fort rebel troops at the battle of Ross ; saith that he was taken to Foulke's-mill in said county that night, where he continued for two days under a guard dressing the wounded ; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty in said county, when he obtained a pass from Edward Murphy, parish priest of said place, to pass and re-pass through his district for the purpose of curing the wounded ; saith that he was sent to Taghmon where the sitting rebel magistrates John Brian, James Harpar, Joseph Cullamore, and Matthew Commons were of opinion, that deponent might with the priest's pass have gone back again and remain there ; sayeth that he strolled along the sea side under the protection of this pass till at last he effected his escape across the ferry of Bannow to Feathard on Friday evening the 22d instant, and from thence to Duncannon Fort this morning ; deponent further sayeth that he attended mass celebrated by Edward Murphy, parish priest of Bannow ; that after mass he heard said Edward Murphy preach a sermon, in which he said " Brethren you see you " are victorious every where, that the balls of the " Hereticks fly about you without hurting you, that " few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of Hereticks are dead, and the few that have fallen was " from deviating from our cause and the want of faith, " that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined, that the Hereticks who have reigned upwards of one hundred years, should be now extirpated, and the true Catholic religion established ;" and deponent sayeth this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and sayeth he has heard several

sermons preached by the priests to the same effect ; and further sayeth that he has heard several of the rebels who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy and elsewhere declare, that Edward Roche the priest, did constantly catch the bullets that came from his Majesty's army in his hand, and give them to the rebels to load their guns with ; deponent further sayeth, that any Protestant who was admitted into the rebel army was first baptized by the Roman Catholic priest, and that every Protestant who refused to be baptized was put to death, and that many to save their lives, suffered themselves to be baptized.

Sworn before his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county, this 23d day of June 1798, at Duncannon Fort.

GEORGE OGLE.
ISAAC CORNOCK.
JOHN HENRY LYSTER.
JOHN KENEDY.

Bound in the sum of two hundred pounds to prosecute, when called on, this examination with effect.

RICHARD GRANDY.

(A true Extract.)

*SUBSTANCE OF A TRIAL AT WEXFORD,
SUMMER ASSIZES, 1799.*

PHELM FARDY was indicted and tried before Baron Smith, for the murder of a person unknown, at Scollabogue, on the fifth of June 1798.

First witness for the crown.—Richard Silvester proved, that on the fourth of June, 1798, the rebels as-

sembled at Scollabogue, to a very great number, armed with guns, pikes, and a variety of other weapons ; that about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the same day, they marched to Corbit-hill, near the town of New-Ross : that a party under the command of a Captain Murphy, of Loughnageer, consisting of about three hundred men, were left on guard over the prisoners at Scollabogue : that on the morning of the fifth of June, the day following, between the hours of five and six o'clock, an express came to Captain Murphy to destroy the prisoners, for that the army were getting the better at Ross ; Captain Murphy replied he would not without a written order from the General : that shortly after, another express arrived, with the same orders to destroy the prisoners, saying, that the Kings army were cutting them off ; that they would be immediately there and liberate the prisoners, and that they would be ten times more outrageous if they were released ; Captain Murphy refused, as before, to obey these orders : that shortly after a third express arrived, saying, that the priest gave orders to destroy the prisoners. Upon this authority being mentioned, the rebels became outrageous, some of them pulled off their clothes with zeal to begin the bloody deed : that witness on seeing the prisoners in the dwelling-house pulling out for execution, turned aside, when he was met by a rebel who knew him, who advised witness to come with him, in order to avoid the horrors going on : that on witness going away, another rebel struck witness on the back with a pike, and with fury in his looks ordered witness to follow him, saying, he would let his guts out if he disobeyed : that witness followed this rebel to the barn where a number of men, women, and children were confined ; and saw the rebels with violence endeavouring to set the barn on fire : that the prisoners shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back door of the barn, which they pulled open, and at times pulled the door between them and the rebels, till their fingers and hands were cut off, and until they

were overpowered by a constant supply of bundles of straw on fire flung in upon them, while others were piking and shooting them : that witness saw a child, who had been shattered by the door, when it fell across the frame, force itself almost out of the barn, when a rebel on perceiving the child instantly darted his pike into it, when it gave a shriek and expired ! By this time, the cries and moans of the prisoners died away : that during the time witness was at the barn, he heard a constant fire kept up at the dwelling-house ; that on his return to the dwelling-house, he saw a number of dead bodies before the hall-door, some of which he knew ; that he saw one man among the dead on his knees, while the rebel men and women were stripping and rifling the bodies of the dead ; that he was near the prisoner, Phelim Fardy, who had a musquet in his hand ; that he heard Fardy call out to them who were rifling the dead, to quit the range of his shot ; that instantly witness saw Fardy present his musquet at the man on his knees ; that witness turned about, and on hearing the report of the shot, looked back and saw the man expiring.

QUESTION FROM THE JURY.—Are you certain that the prisoner is the man you saw that day present the musquet at the man on his knees ? Ans. I am, for I have known him these twelve years past, I could not be mistaken.

MR. RICHARD GRANDY, second witness for the crown, deposed, that witness was a prisoner, with many others on the fifth of June, 1798, in the dwelling-house at Scollabogue ; that an order being given to put the prisoners to death, witness went on his knees, and on several of his fellow-prisoners being brought out for execution, he, the witness, went to a window, in hopes he might see some person he knew, in expectation of being saved ; that he saw the prisoner, Phelim Fardy, near the window, at the front of the house, with a musquet in his hand, and his hands and face blackened with powder ; that immediately two men seized witness, and brought him out for ex-

ecution, where he saw two men on their knees to be shot; that a rebel snapped his musquet twice at one of them, that he then struck his flint with his knife, and presented a third time, when he shot him; that immediately after, Captain Murphy came up to witness, and called him by name, and said he should not be put to death, and put him back into the room where he came from; that there he saw a man on his knees, who afterwards he found to be a Mr. Frizzell; that he came over and intreated witness to intercede for him; that immediately after, Capt. Murphy called out to know if all the prisoners were executed, and came into the room, and on seeing Mr. Frizzell he ordered him for execution, when Grandy on his knees begged for his life, that he was a stranger from Dublin; Captain Murphy, enraged at the request said, he had a mind to bring out Grandy for daring to intercede, and have him executed with Mr. Frizzell; that instantly after, two rebel females came in, and intreated Captain Murphy not to put the young man to death, as it would be a great pity; by which means Mr. Frizzell's life was spared.

PROSECUTION closed.—The prisoner did not produce any witness.

THE jury retired for a moment, and brought in their verdict guilty. Instantly the judge pronounced sentence of death in a very awful manner, and regretted he could not order him for immediate execution, as the heinousness of his crimes, so clearly and fully proved, made him a fit object for public example.

ON a trial at the court-martial about a week before the assizes, it was proved that a man of the name of Miskella was tried, found guilty, and hanged for murders at Scollabogue, who was for his superlative atrocities at Scollabogue, called the *true Roman*, for he would not wince at putting to death *Heretics*.

A FEW AUTHENTIC ATROCITIES.

VERIDICUS (a publication which has passed through several editions, without any attempting a refutation) selects the following from a catalogue of dreadful atrocities.

“ DURING the rebel encampment on Vinegar-hill, they daily led out of the different prisons ; from twenty to thirty Protestants, whom, after a mock trial, they butchered in presence of, and as a regale to the rebels while on parade.

“ SOME scenes of the deepest tragic woe occurred in the course of these butcheries ; and it is universally believed that not not less than four hundred Protestants were murdered in this manner on that hill. Many of them were magistrates, men of fortune, opulent farmers, or shop-keepers, whose wealth might have tempted their avarice, or provoked their envy ; but the poorest Protestants were equally the objects of their sanguinary fury.

“ ONE or two instances shew how these scenes of savagery were conducted. John Connors, his wife and daughter, were taken prisoners to the hill, where they saw John Plunket and J. Rigley, two Protestants, on their knees, in front of the rebels on parade, who formed a half moon. While these three prisoners were on their knees, one James D’Arcy, an opulent corn-factor, stepped forward, and shot Rigley with a horse-pistol ; he then charged it with great deliberation, and told Plunket insultingly, that he would do his business, and then shot him. Having charged it again, he shot Connors, and he, on falling, dragged his old wife with him, as she had put her arm under his, to support him. His poor old wife told D’Arcy, that she now wished he would kill her ; on which he swore he would do so, and was proceeding to effect it, but some rebels more humane than the rest, interposed, and prevented him. These circumstances

were related on oath at Wexford, by the widow and daughter of Connors on the trial of D'Arcy. Brien Reil, of Ballybrennan, was led to execution in presence of his aged father and a brother. Having asked for a fair trial, he was refused. He then made a request, that instead of torturing him with pikes, they should shoot him ; on which a rebel struck him on the head with a carpenter's adze, after which he staggered a few steps, and fell ; when one Joseph Murphy shot him. His father was then put on his knees, but the executioner missed fire three times at him ; on this, Father Roach, the General, who presided at the execution, desired him to try whether the fire-lock would go off in the air ; and having accordingly made the experiment, it went off. Father Roach, thereupon, declared him innocent, and discharged him with a protection, having imputed his escape to the interposition of Divine Providence.

UNHEARD of tortures were practised on the hill. A Protestant saved by the interposition of a rebel captain, who had a warm friendship for him, swore the following affidavit before a Magistrate ; " That on the 1st of June, he saw a man sitting on the ground there, with no other clothes to cover him than a piece of ragged blanket : that his eyes were out, his head and body were swelled, and his cheeks were covered with ulcers : that on deponent's exclaiming what a miserable object that was ! The poor wretch uttered some inarticulate sounds, but could not speak, from which he supposed that his tongue had been cut out. That an armed rebel, whom he believed to be one of the guards, said, that he was under punishment, and mentioned something of slow death, indicating as he supposed, that he was to suffer such a death."

MANY Protestants were massacred in their camp Carrickbyrne, with the same circumstances of cruelty and barbarity as took place at Vinegar-hill ; and similar atrocities were practised at the camp near Greystown, which continued in the vicinity of that town for many days.

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HISTORY

OF THE

Insurrection

IN THE NOTHERN PART OF

IRELAND.

IN JUNE 1798.

EXTRACTED FROM JONES.

AFFAIRS OF THE NORTH.

LET us now turn our attention towards the NORTH—a part of the kingdom it was supposed there was most peculiar reason to dread; as well from the sturdy character of its inhabitants, as from its early attachment to *French* principles, and being the quarter in which the system of *United Irishcism* had originated, which had afterwards spread so very generally over the whole kingdom.

It may not be here improper to observe, that so far back as September 1796, several persons were arrested in Belfast, as well as other parts of the North; and that it was in March 1797, General Lake, who commanded the Nothren district, issued from Belfast his proclamation (which made so much noise), for the bringing in of arms, ammunition, &c.—arrests occasionally taking place up to the period we are now treating of; a little before which General Nugent had succeeded General Lake in the command.

THE news of the burning the Nothern mail-coach, was received in Belfast early on Friday morning, the 25th of May, and of course excited very considerable alarm—but it was not till next morning it was gene-

rally understood the rebellion had actually broke out and that the burning of the mail-coaches was the *concerted signal* of insurrection. Numbers of the inhabitants, who had not hitherto been members of any yeomenry corps, made an immediate offer of their services to General Nugent ; in consequence of which two supplementary corps, of sixty men each, were formed, and almost immediately completed—to be clothed at their own expence, and to receive nothing from Government but arms and accoutrements. Indeed, such numbers pressed forward to be inrolled, as would have completed several companies more, had the General thought proper to accept of all who offered on the occasion. However, the four old companies, as well as the troop of cavalry, were strongly augmented ; while arms were put into the hands of a number of loyal and well-affected persons, who did duty along with the military—and many of the more wealthy inhabitants, who were prevented by age and infirmity from taking a more active part, subscribed largely towards the better supporting the families of those in the yeomenry, who, when on permanent duty had little but their pay to depend on.

On Sunday forenoon, martial-law was proclaimed in town by sound of trumpet, and the inhabitants forbidden from appearing in the streets after nine at night, or before six in the morning. In the course of the ensuing week a number of persons were taken up, and either committed to the provost, or sent on board the prison-ship in the harbour ; while several who were strongly suspected to be well acquainted with what was going on, were publicly whipped—in order to extort confession. Another proclamation respecting bringing in arms, &c. was issued by the General—soon after which a very general search took place in town—almost every house was examined—notwithstanding which the number of arms procured was very inconsiderable—partly from the numbers already given up, in consequence of the former proclamations and from many, no doubt, having concealed them ; not so much,

perhaps, on the principle of disloyalty, as of defending themselves against ruffians of any description.

ABOUT this time, two of the four brass field-pieces, formerly belonging to the Belfast volunteers, were found buried in a back-yard off one of the principal streets—they had eluded every search that had been made about them for above five years, and very probably even then would not have been discovered, but for the threats of the General against the persons in whose custody they were known about that time to have been—when, in consequence of a paper being circulated, very generally signed by the inhabitants, pointing out the impropriety of further concealment at such a crisis, and the consequences that must result to innocent individuals, anonymous information was at length given to the General respecting them, who gave strict orders no injury should be done to the premises on which they were found. Next morning the other two pieces were found lying on the county Down shore, within half a mile of the town, and all brought in by the military, with no small marks of exultation.

MONDAY, the fourth of June, being the King's birth-day, the regulars, together with the yeomenry corps, fired three *feu de joie's* in the main-street—in the evening the most general and brilliant illuminations took place ever known there; when very much to the credit of the General, the troops were kept in barrack till between nine and ten o'clock, when the entire garrison, horse, foot, artillery with their cannon, and yeomenry, marched through the principal streets. The inhabitants upon this occasion, were indulged with liberty of walking about till ten o'clock, when not the slightest irregularity was committed either on the one side or the other.—Indeed, were an opinion to be formed of Belfast from the behaviour of its inhabitants upon that day, at its *feu de joie's*, and during the illuminations, a more loyal town scarcely could have been found in his Majesty's dominions.

NOTHING material occurred till Thursday, the seventh of June, when a very general alarm was excited,

from the General having received undoubted information that a rising would that day take place in the county of Antrim; the object of which was, among other things, to seize upon the magistrates, who were to meet in the town of Antrim, to consider on what measures should be adopted for the peace of the county—the barriers were closed early in the morning, several persons were arrested, and no person suffered to leave the town. Though no one was prevented from coming into it. The General had early in the morning directed Colonel Clavering of the Argyleshire, who commanded at Blaris camp, about nine miles from Belfast, to proceed immediately to Antrim, with a detachment of his own regiment and of the 22d dragoons, with two pieces of artillery. About eleven o'clock, detachments from the Monaghan, Fifeshire, 22d dragoons, and Belfast cavalry, with two pieces of cannon, making in all about four hundred men, under the command of Colonel Durham of the Fifeshire, marched also from Belfast to Antrim, where Colonel Clavering's detachment had arrived some time; the cavalry of which had made an unsuccessful attack on the rebels, who had got possession of the town, in which Colonel Lumley was wounded, &c. &c.

AFTER giving the troops some time to refresh themselves and coolly reconnoitering the position of the rebels, a general attack was made on all points, when they were soon routed; abandoning two currie guns they had taken on getting possession of the town, as also a brass gun of their own, mounted on a car, which they had fired several times during the action. They were pursued with considerable slaughter, towards Shane's-castle and Randalstown—in which last mentioned place, a number of houses were set fire to belonging to people implicated in the rebellion.—Some few feeble attempts were afterwards made, on that and the next day, at Larne, Ballycastle, and Ballymena, but they were soon put down. The rebels in this county appearing immediately afterwards waver-

ing and dispirited; deserting their camps (as their places of assemblage were called,) and throwing away or bringing in their arms to the nearest civil or military magistrates, with the strongest marks of sorrow and repentance.—The detachment from Belfast came into town next day about three o'clock.

INFORMATION being by this time received, that a general rising was on the point of taking place in the county of Down, and that a considerable number were already assembled near Saintfield, ten miles from Belfast, General Nugent directed Colonel Stapleton, of the York fencibles, who lay with his regiment at Newtown-Ards, six miles from Belfast, and about eight from Saintfield, to march immediately to attack them, before they gathered further strength. The Colonel accordingly left Newtown-Ards early next morning, Saturday the 9th, with his regiment, its two battalion guns, and accompanied by the Comber and Newtown-Ards cavalry—the baggage of the regiment having been previously sent to Belfast.

WHEN they had proceeded within about a mile of Saintfield, on a most uncommonly hot day, and the country through which they marched, in a great measure deserted, they fell in with a man on the road, very probably thrown in their way on purpose, who informed the commanding-officer, that the rebels were straggling about; were under no sort of order; many of them drunk in the streets; and that they would never dare face the King's troops. This may be presumed to have put them something off their guard—be that as it may, two or three of the yeomen-cavalry did actually go at a gallop to the end of the town, and returned without seeing the appearance of any thing hostile—of course they renewed their march with confidence, not dreaming of the enemy they sought being so near, until they came to a part of the road where there was a number of trees on each side; when, in an instant, the yeomen-cavalry and light company, who formed the advanced guard, were opened upon from behind the ditches by a very heavy

fire of musquetry ; the pikes at the same time darted across the road—by which, in a very short time, they suffered exceedingly, both in killed and wounded ; the main body too was thrown into confusion—but having at length got their cannon into a good position, where they were of the most signal service indeed, they succeeded in instantly and completely repulsing the rebels ; who went off, after sustaining much loss. Night approaching, the Colonel did not think proper to proceed to Saintfield, which was in the very heart of the country supposed most particularly disaffected—he therefore fell back to Comber, where the troops rested that night, and came into Belfast the forenoon of next day, having suffered most severely from fatigue and the extreme heat of the weather.

THIS day, Sunday the 10th, the spirit of insurrection appearing not at all to be checked ; but rather gaining ground in the county of Down, numbers of people from the country crowded into Belfast, Lisburn, Downpatrick, &c. as to places of greater security. Belfast, at this time, presented the appearance of a place in a state of siege—parties of horse and foot continually passing and repassing—the avenues to the town strongly guarded—cannon placed in the principal streets, and three pieces planted on the very long bridge that separates Belfast from the county of Down.—In short, every precaution was taken that prudence could suggest, to give the rebels a warm reception, had they been rash enough to attack the town ; but they never once approached it.

ON Monday, the 11th of June, the county Antrim people continuing to bring in their arms, and appearing completely sensible of their folly, the General issued a proclamation, addressed to the county of Down, calling on them to follow the example of their brethren in the county of Antrim, by bringing in their arms, giving up their leaders, and returning to their allegiance—in which case, promising them pardon and protection, giving them twenty-four hours to consider of it. This proclamation was sent through the

country by patrols, as generally as the then unhappy state of the country would admit ; but such was the infatuation of the people, it was spurned at with contempt ; so that it soon became evident the sword only could bring them to reason. Preparations were accordingly made for that purpose ; and next morning about ten o'clock, the weather being still most uncommonly warm, the General left Belfast, at the head of the Monaghan and Fifeshire regiments, about one hundred and thirty of the 22d dragoons, with six pieces of cannon and two howitzers, and proceeded to Saintfield, where the rebels were collected in great force—the York fencibles proceeding at the same time to Comber, where they remained, to act as circumstances might require—and here, Sir, I would refer you to the account forwarded by General Nugent to Government of this days business.

Dublin Castle, 11 o'clock, A. M. June 14, 1798.

INTELLIGENCE is just arrived from Major-General Nugent, stating, that on the 11th inst, he had marched against a large body of rebels, who were posted at Saintfield. They retired on his approach to a strong position on the Saintfield side of Ballynahinch; and there made a shew of resistance, and endeavoured to turn his left flank ; but Lieutenant-colonel Stewart arriving from Down, with a pretty considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and yeomenry, they soon desisted, and retired to a very strong position behind Ballynahinch.

GENERAL NUGENT attacked them the next morning at three o'clock, having occupied two hills on the left and right of the town, to prevent the rebels from having any other choice than the mountains in their rear for their retreat ; he sent Lieutenant-colonel Stewart to post himself with a part of the Argyle fencibles, and some yeomenry, as well as a detach-

ment of the 22d light dragoons, in a situation from whence he could enfilade the rebel line, whilst Colonel Leslie, with part of the Monaghan militia, some cavalry, and yeomen infantry, should make an attack upon their front. Having two howitzers and six six-pounders with the two detachments, the Major-General was enabled to annoy them very much, from different parts of his position.

THE rebels attacked impetuously, Colonel Leslie's detachment, and even jumped into the road from the Earl of Moira's demesne, to endeavour to take one of his guns; but they were repulsed with slaughter. Lieutenant-colonel Stewart's detachment was attacked by them with the same activity, but he repulsed them also, and the fire from his howitzer and six-pounder soon obliged them to fly in all directions. Their force was, on the evening of the 12th near 5000.

ABOUT four hundred rebels were killed in the attack and retreat, and the remainder were dispersed all over the country. Major General Nugent states, that both officers and men deserve praise, for their zeal and alacrity on this, as well as all occasions; but he particularly expresses his obligations to Lieutenant-colonel Stewart for his advice and assistance throughout the business, and to Colonel Leslie, for his readiness to volunteer the duty at all times. The yeomenry behaved with extreme steadiness and bravery. Three or four green colours were taken, and six one-pounders, not mounted, but which the rebels fired very often, and a considerable quantity of ammunition. Their chief was Munro, (he was afterwards hanged) a shopkeeper of Lisburn.

Major-General Nugent regrets the loss of Capt. Evatt, of the Monaghan militia; Lieutenant Ellis of the same regiment was wounded; the loss of rank and file was five killed, and fourteen wounded. Several of the yeomen-infantry were killed or wounded.

IN the mean time, detachments from the Tey forcibles at Carrickfergus, and the Argyleshire at Blaris, marched in, and in conjunction with the Belfast

and Castlereagh yeomenry, with the loyal inhabitants, took charge of the town. Immediately on the troops marching out, orders were issued to shut up every house and shop; centries were placed at the end of every street, and no one upon any account to appear in the streets but those to whom the care of the town was committed—precautions thought necessary to be taken lest any thing improper should be attempted in so critical a moment, in the absence of so considerable a part of the garrison:—every thing, however, continued perfectly tranquil, both in the town and neighbourhood, as well then as during the whole time of the rebellion. In this state, so exceedingly awful and interesting to the inhabitants, anxiously waiting the event, actuated by various, and no doubt, in many cases, by very opposite sensations, the town remained tranquil until the forenoon of next day—when news arriving of the King's troops being completely victorious, the restrictions were taken off.

GENERAL NUGENT, with his troops, returned to Belfast, about four in the afternoon of Wednesday, bringing along with them six small iron guns, and several green standards taken from the rebels; and were received in town with the strongest demonstrations of joy. That evening, the Lancashire regiment of dragoons, which had that day landed at Carrickfergus from Scotland, came into town—a day or two after the arrival of the Lancashire, the Sutherland fencibles, 1000 strong, also arrived from Scotland; both arrivals giving no small confidence to the loyal and peaceable inhabitants.

AFTER the affair at Ballynahinch, the rebels were completely dispersed, never afterwards appearing in any part of the North—great numbers were taken up, among whom were many of their leaders; some were transported, others had permission given of going with their families to America, and not a few suffered the punishment of death. While humanity cannot but feel for the many who forfeited their lives on the occasion, it will be acknowledged, at least by the

moderate and the impartial, that no inconsiderable portion of lenity was shewn ; and that fewer executions took place, every thing considered, than might have been expected—perhaps a smaller number than under similar circumstances, would have been the case under any other government in Europe—for, surely, blood has not been the characteristic of Cornwallis.

It has, no doubt, been matter of some surprise to many, that the efforts of the North, which had been so much and so long spoken of, should have been so feeble, and of such short duration—as the rebellion was completely extinguished there within a single week after it broke out !

THE number of persons who joined the societies of United Irishmen in the North, was no doubt very considerable indeed ; but their motives were very different, and their numbers no doubt much exaggerated, for very obvious reasons. It is a fact, however well ascertained, many became members from policy—from fear, from persuasion—from motives of private interest—and not a few of those who became so with cordiality, never conceived the object to be beyond a parliamentary reform—of course, from those of this description, no cordial co-operation could be given.

THE precautions then taken by Government, so far back as the year 1793, in preventing the importation of arms and ammunition—the number of persons who were disarmed—the early arrest and close confinement of so many of their leaders—and the repeated disappointment in the expected succours from France must have altogether tended exceedingly to cool and to embarrass. Besides which, the oppressive and tyrannical conduct of the French ; particularly of late, towards those countries who had received them with open arms, and to whom they had promised *liberty* and *fiacc*, had caused a very considerable change among the sensible and thinking part of the community ; who began at length to imagine, they might possibly

not act towards Ireland with a greater degree of disinterestedness. Be that as it may, when the rebellion did break out, the people in general were not so hearty in the cause as they would very probably have been some years before. And what perhaps, contributed more than any other thing to prevent any further attempts, was, the horrid cruelties committed by the Catholics, particularly in the County of Wexford; which induced numbers of the Presbyterians to imagine, were they even to carry their point, the business would be but half done, and that they would have to fight the battle out again with them—a supposition strongly sanctioned by the dying declaration of *Dickey*, a rebel leader, who was executed at Belfast in June, 1798.

MAY this land never again witness a repetition of such distressful scenes! And may what has already past make a deep impression on the minds of both *governors* and *governed*—upon the owner of the soil and the useful cultivator of the land—teaching the one to pay every just attention to the fair and reasonable wishes of the people, and to meliorate, as much as possible, the situation of their tenantry (and much, much indeed of the future tranquillity of the country, depends on a proper attention to this point)—and upon the other hand, teaching the people not to be foolishly carried away by visionary and romantic ideas of perfection, that never have, and never can be realized in any government on the face of the earth.

LETTER VI.

ANTRIM, JULY 12th, 1799.

SIR,

I THIS day (for the first time) had the pleasure of reading your very interesting Narrative, and not seeing any account of the battle fought with the re-

bels in this town, I take the liberty of giving you an account of that affair; though the language is but poor, yet the statement is authentic.

BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

ON the 7th of June 1798, at 9 o'clock, A. M. an express arrived from General Nugent at Belfast, to Major Siddon of the 22d light dragoons, commanding in the town of Antrim, to inform him, that there was a general rising expected in this county, and that the town of Antrim would be attacked, in order to secure the magistrates who were to meet there by order of Lord Viscount O'Neil, governor of the county.

MAJOR SIDDON immediately collected his small forces together, which consisted of one troop of the 22d light dragoons, the Antrim yeomen infantry, (80 in all) commanded by the Earl of Massareene, and about thirty men who voluntarily turned out under the command of one Mr. J. Charters.

THIS handful of brave men, waited under arms on the parade, (which is at the very lower end of the town) from ten o'clock A. M. until two o'clock P. M. when in an instant the out-posts were driven in, and immediately after about 6000 rebels entered the head of the town, with two brass six-pounders in front, and marched into the church-yard, which is exactly in the middle of the town.

UPON this, the Earl of Massareene made a short but pithy speech to the troops; the yeomen immediately marched up half way to the church, and the light dragoons marched up in the rear. Just as the troops had halted, Lieut. Col. Lumley, with two troops of his regiment, (22d light dragoons) and two curriele guns, came in from Blaris Camp; the yeomen were then ordered to file off to right and left, in order to line the streets, and give room for the cannon to act. Before the horses were unyoked from the guns, the rebels had fired two rounds of

cannister shot, which was fifty musket-bullets in a stocking. The salute was soon returned, and the roof of the church being much damaged the rebels fled into the houses and lanes.

LIEUT. COL. LUMLEY imagining this to be a total retreat, ordered the dragoons to charge, but unfortunately the rebels opened so brisk a fire of musquetry from the windows, that the dragoons were forced to retreat in great confusion, with the loss of twenty men, one officer and one quarter master killed, Lieut. Col. Lumley, Major Siddon, and Lieut. Murphy wounded.

THE rebels being greatly elated with this temporary advantage, rushed on furiously in order to surround the yeomenry, who still remained exposed to their fire; upon this the gallant Earl of Massareene was forced to retreat to his own garden, which being surrounded by a lofty wall, was a very proper post. The yeomen had been forced to leave the cannon in the street, but covered them so well by a heavy discharge of musquetry, that the rebels could not touch them, so that they were once more enabled to sally forth, and draw them safely off.

THE yeomen continued in this position until four o'clock P. M. during which time they were often furiously attacked by large parties of the rebels, and as often bravely repulsed them. The rebels being worn out by so many vain attempts, retired from the town, and had actually sat down in a field adjacent, and had begun to feast upon large quantities of meat which they had brought with them; when a yeoman who was posted upon the top of Lord Massareene's castle, beheld a large reinforcement upon a neighbouring hill: consisting of detachments of the Monaghan and Fifeshire regiments, under the command of Col. Durham, a party of the 22d light dragoons, under the command of Major Smith, and the Belfast cavalry, under the command of Captain Rainey. A yeoman was then immediately dispatched by a private way, bearing a red flag, to inform the army

of the situation of affairs; the dragoons immediately pursued, and the foot separated and made great slaughter in the fields.

UPON computation, the rebels lost four hundred men, while the army in killed and wounded, lost about thirty.

THE Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount O'Neil, received a mortal pike-wound early in the action, of which he died on the 17th of the same month, at the Earl of Massareene's castle in the town of Antrim.

NOTHING could exceed the valour of the troops on this occasion, a remarkable instance of which, was, one Jackson a young man, and a member of the Antrim yeomen, who having received a mortal wound in his knee, absolutely refused to retreat, until he would discharge his piece at the rebels: this poor young fellow (after suffering an amputation) died, much regretted by every real loyalist in this country.

THE rebels were headed in this engagement by M'Givoren, a petty grocer, and an inhabitant of Antrim, and one H. J. M'Cracking, a native of Belfast. M'Cracking was since hanged in the town of Belfast, but M'Givoren has been pardoned.

THE rebels were so sure of victory, that they brought horses and cars, to carry away the spoil. But the hand of God fought against them, and discomfited all their bloody intentions.

I am Sir,

Your humble Servant.

I. M.

HISTORY

OF THE

Insurrection

IN

CONNAUGHT,

IN AUGUST 1798,

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE FRENCH INVASION.

FROM JONES'S NARRATIVE.

AMIDST all the horrors of the rebellion (the subject of your Narrative,) previous to the French invasion, this province (Connaught,) happily for us, proved tolerably quiet—nor should we, I suppose, have been otherwise, but for the landing of the French, on the 22d of August, 1798, from three frigates and a brig, to the number of 1000, at least, near Killala, under Gen. Humbert,* with a number of officers, and some pieces of artillery. They immediately proceeded for this town—defeated and took prisoners a party of the Prince of Wales's fencible infantry, commanded by Lt. Silles, who with a few of our yeomen-cavalry, boldly attempted to stop their progress; three or four loyalist were killed. The French lost no time in making themselves masters of Killala—the Bishop's palace was surrounded by the French

* General Humbert was accompanied in this expedition by some disaffected Irishmen, who had received commissions in the French service; some of whom afterwards forfeited their lives—a just punishment for their base treachery.

and a number of rebels, some in an uniform provided by their *new* friends. Nothing could exceed the consternation which prevailed throughout the town—the loyalists every moment expecting to be butchered in cold blood ; men, women, and children drowned in tears, attempting to escape, but in vain ! Every avenue leading from Killala, was thronged by rebels making in to receive the *fraternal embrace*, whose eyes indicated the malignity of their hearts—no one was permitted to depart, but on business which concerned the *invaders*. The Bishop of Killala, Dean Thompson, Dr. Ellison, and some other clergymen, with their families, were taken prisoners and confined to the Bishop's palace, but were all treated extremely well by the French officer commanding.

THE following printed *declaration* was profusely strewn throughout the streets, and read with avidity by their ignorant dupes.

*LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY,
UNION!*

IRISHMEN,

You have not forgot Bantry Bay—you know what efforts France has made to assist you. Her affections for you, her desire for avenging your wrongs, and ensuring your independence, can never be impaired.

AFTER several unsuccessful attempts, behold Frenchmen arrived amongst you.

THEY come to support your courage, to share your dangers, to join their arms, and to mix their blood with yours in the sacred cause of liberty ! They are the forerunners of other Frenchmen, whom you shall soon infold in your arms.

BRAVE Irishmen, our cause is common ; like you, we abhor the avaricious and blood-thirsty policy of an oppressive government ; like you, we hold as infeasible the right of all nations to liberty ; like you, we are persuaded that the peace of the world shall

ever be troubled, as long as the British Ministry is suffered to make, with impunity a traffic of the industry, labour, and blood of the people.

BUT exclusive of the same interests which unite us we have powerful motives, to love and defend you.

HAVE we not been the pretext of the cruelty exercised against you by the Cabinet of St. James's? The heartfelt interest you have shewn in the grand events of our revolution—Has it not been imputed to you as a crime? Are not tortures and death continually hanging over such of you as are barely suspected of being our friends? Let us unite, then, and march to glory.

WE swear the most inviolable respect for your properties, your laws, and all your religious opinions. Be free; be masters in your own country. We look for no other conquest than that of your liberty—no other success than yours.

THE moment of breaking your chains is arrived; our triumphant troops are now flying to the extremities of the earth, to tear up the roots of the wealth and tyranny of our enemies. That frightful Colossus is mouldering away in every part. Can there be any Irishman base enough to separate himself at such a happy conjuncture from the grand interests of his country? If such there be, brave friends, let him be chased from the country he betrays, and let his property become the reward of those generous men who know how to fight and die.

IRISHMEN, recollect the late defeats which your enemies have experienced from the French; recollect the plains of Honscoote, Toulon, Quiberon, and Ostend; recollect America, free from the moment she wished to be so.

THE contest between you and your oppressors cannot be long.

UNION! LIBERTY! the IRISH REPUBLIC! such is our shout. Let us march. Our hearts are devoted to you; our glory is in your happiness.

THE principal French officers continued in the palace—the remainder of the forces were distributed throughout the houses: the French were very solicitous to be supplied with the very best provisions, and we found it our interest to grant them all they required for to secure our lives, daily threatened by the rebels. That they attempted the destruction of the loyalists wherever an opportunity offered is publicly acknowledged, even by *Gen. Humbert* in his letter to the president of the court martial before whom the traitor *Teeling* was tried; in endeavouring to exculpate him he asserts “*Teeling* by his bravery and generous conduct has prevented in *all* the towns through which we have passed the *insurgents* from proceeding to the most cruel excesses.”—Yes my friend, the extirpation of *all* who professed themselves inimical to their diabolical measures, was invariably to have been adapted.

THE vessels which brought our unwelcome guests sailed from Killala the 24th—probably they were intended to be employed on a second expedition. It will be readily admitted that our situation during the time of our captivity was very alarming;—ignorant of the state of the Kingdom, exposed to the insults of the rebels—concluding from the accounts in hourly circulation, that the government had been overturned—also that an additional French force would immediately arrive, we would have preferred natural death to such a state of suspense.

SUCH was the encroaching insolence and thirst for our blood, that the prisoners in the palace could only have escaped the rebels by receiving arms, &c. from the officer commanding at the palace.—This you will meet in the official bulletin to which I refer you, Sir, for a faithful account of our deliverance.

DUBLIN CASTLE, 28th SEPTEMBER, 1798.

Extracts of Letters from Major General Trench, to Captain Taylor, private Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, dated Camp, near Killala, the 24th and 26th instant.

SIR,

“ I HAVE the honor to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant that previous to my leaving Castlebar on Saturday the 22d instant, I had ordered Lord Portarlington with the regiment under his command, forty of the 24th light dragoons, Captain O'Hara's, Captain Wynne's, and Captain Croston's corps of yeomenry, to meet me at Ballina, at ten o'clock on Sunday morning from Sligo. I also ordered the Armagh militia, consisting of above three hundred men, under Major Acheson, to proceed from Foxford, and to co-operate with me at the same hour. I marched with the Roxburgh light dragoons, three hundred of the Downshire, the Kerry regiment, the Prince of Wales's fencibles, and two curricule guns, with the Tyrawly cavalry, by the Barhague road, and ordered Colonel Fraser, with three hundred of his regiment, to march from Newport, where I had detached him on Friday, in order if possible, to cut off the retreat of the rebels. The forces under Lord Portarlington had been frequently attacked on their march, and Major Acheson was attacked by a large body of Rebels at Foxford. On every occasion they have been dispersed with slaughter.

On my arrival at Ballina, I found that the town had been evacuated by the rebels, and was occupied by the forces under Lord Portarlington, I immediately marched, without halting, for this place. At about two miles from the town our advanced guard was fired upon by that of the rebels. Finding that Ballina was in our possession, and hearing that the rebels had retreated to Killala, I ordered the Kerry

regiment of militia, with the detachment of the 24th light dragoons, the Tyrawly, and Captain Wynne's corps of yeomen cavalry, to proceed by a forced march to Killala, by Rappa, which they performed with zeal and dispatch, as they entered the town at one end as our advanced guard entered it on the other, and maintained a quick and well directed fire on the rebels, who fled in all directions.

THE officers and men under my command, behaved with zeal, spirit, and activity; and I feel myself much indebted to their exertions. I derived much advantage from fifty men of the Downshire regiment of militia, trained by Major Matthews as sharp shooters, and who, under his command, with a party of the Roxburgh light dragoons, formed my advanced guard. To Lieut. Col. Elliot, who, with forty of the Roxburgh, charged through the town, I feel much indebted. I must also beg leave to mention, in a particular manner, the assistance which I derived from Mr. Ormsby, of Gortnoraby, who, by his accurate knowledge of the country through which I passed, and its inhabitants, was of the greatest service. I also owe much to Mr. Orme, of Abbotstown, and several other gentlemen in the neighbourhood of the disturbed country.

UPON entering the town of Killala, I proceeded to the palace of the bishop, who I much feared had suffered from the rage of the rebels, but was happy to find him and his family in safety, but preserved from their violence only by the authority which Charost, the French commandant of the town, possessed over them, but which was beginning rapidly to decline before we arrived, insomuch, that he was obliged to arm himself, and the other French officers, with a number of carabines, which he delivered up loaded in his room: the bishop, his family, and servants, were armed in the like manner, by him, and served out with ammunition, in order to protect them from the threatened violence of the rebels. At the palace, the

head-quarters of the commandant, I found two hundred and seventy barrels of powder.

HAVING heard late on the night of the twenty-fourth instant, that the rebels were assembling in great numbers at a place called the Lacken, I marched on the morning of the twenty-fifth in that direction; they fled and dispersed on our approach; but, by the activity of the men, several were overtaken, between fifty and sixty were killed, all in arms, and five taken prisoners. Amongst the killed were several in French uniform. I did not return here till nine o'clock last night. The men bore a fatiguing march of fourteen hours with zeal and spirit. Bellew and Burke were hanged yesterday, by the sentence of a general court-martial. Five men came in and surrendered their arms this morning, under the proclamation; I trust that their example will be followed by many others.

J. TRENCH,

Major of Brigade.

P. S. In our different actions with the rebels, they lost between five and six hundred men. We lost but one man.

THAT our visitors were prepossessed in behalf of the loyalists, and particularly of the Bishop of Killala and those confined with him in his palace, is evident from General Humbert's letter, which I doubt not but you will concur is worthy of being recorded in your NARRATIVE. It is as follows:

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF KILLALA.

DOVER, OCTOBER 26, 1798.

My Lord,

ON the point of returning to France, I think it incumbent on me to testify in a particular manner, the sentiments with which you have uniformly inspired me.

FROM the moment that I had the opportunity of being acquainted with you, I ceased not to regret that chance, and my duty as a soldier, obliged me, by carrying the scourge of war into your neighbourhood, to disturb the domestic felicity which you enjoyed, and to which you were every way entitled—I should be happy indeed, if on my return to my country, I might flatter myself that I had acquired some pretensions to your esteem. Independently of the particular reasons I have for loving and respecting you, the description that citizen Charost has given me of all your acts of goodness to him and his officers, as well before as after the retaking of Killala, must for ever claim from me the tribute of esteem and gratitude. I beg the favour of your Lordship to accept this acknowledgement of it, and to share it with your valuable family.

I am, with the highest respect,

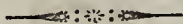
My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

HUMBERT.

You may easily conceive the happiness that succeeded upon our being liberated, joy sparkled from every loyal countenance—those who had undergone so painful a separation, now felt the felicity of the restoration of their friends, whose lives were for some time doubtful. To HIM who brought to nought the machinations of those who rose up against us, be the eternal praise.

I am, Sir, &c.



THE Editor flatters himself the following account will afford to the reader the information so long sought for, relative to *Castlebar*. It is extracted from the journal of a gentleman of great veracity who favoured the Editor with the same, for this NARRATIVE.—The statement will prove irrefragable.

ON the twenty-second of August, 1798, as we were going to bed, a yeoman of Ballina, made through Foxford, shouting: "Why are you going to bed, and the French in Killala?" Some mocked, and others cursed him; but I persuaded the men to arise, arm themselves, and not doubt it. At eleven o'clock that night, Dr. King, who fled to us from Ballina, confirmed it. He said there had been some strangers observed at Ballina for some days past; that three large frigates were seen by himself, which at first appeared with English colours—they had taken a fishing-boat, and detained the men. About day-break, a few troops of the Carabineers, and some yeomen, went through Foxford, which were nearly all posted as picquets that night, between Ballina and Killala. Our men let their horses feed, taking the bits out of their mouths, and before they were mounted they were nearly surrounded: they retreated into Ballina, hanged on the crane a man caught foraging for the French, and then retreated into Castlebar; having lost the Rev. Mr. Fortescue, and some of their men, in the skirmish.

I RETURNED to Castlebar that morning.—Expresses flew, and troops teamed in with us from that till Sunday following: Generals Hutchinson and Trench were in Castlebar, and General Taylor in Foxford.

ON Sunday night, at ten o'clock, the Longford Militia marched in; while eating some bread and cheese a shot was fired out of a window at them! O my friend, think of our situation! In the dark of the night; four thousand enraged soldiers in the town. A noise arose, the clamour of irritated passions! Arms clashed against each other, and glass flew from windows, whilst the enraged men called for vengeance on the culprit.—The General shouted for the officer commanding, (Captain Chambers) to stand in the street until the affair should be over. The fellow who fired the shot fled off, when he thought he had kindled a flame which would destroy the town. I am told if there had not been instant peace the General

would have caused the cannon to be brought to bear on the street, and sweep it with grape-shot : but glory to the Prince of Peace, he gave us a silent street in ten minutes. The men had orders that night, to be mounted and fit for action at two in the morning. There were two roads between Castlebar and Killala, one called Foxford, and the other Bernanaguidha ; on the former our troops were posted, but on the latter our picquets met the French army, at two o'clock in the morning and narrowly escaped being taken : they rushed into the town, others were sent out, but returned with precipitation ; the General was told the French were within six miles of us at five in the morning.

ON Monday about six in the morning, some of our troops went to Foxford the wrong road. Having requested Captain Chambers to accept my bed, I sat up all that night, drew a map of the country and sent it to the General. A little before day, my wife told me, " I will see this battle in the street, having in a dream beheld Flags ;—a green, and another of a different colour."—We then agreed to consult the bible—I first opened for our army, 2 Kings vii. 7. " Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight, and " left their tents, and their horses, even the Camp as " it was, and fled for their life."—We opened next for our country, Jer. v. 15, " Lo I will bring a nation " upon you from afar, O house of Israel, saith the " Lord ; it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, " a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither " understandest what they say."—I next opened for our King, Psalm lxi. 7, " He shall abide before God " for ever, O prepare mercy and truth which may " preserve him."—I lastly opened for my wife and myself, John xiii. 7, " Jesus answered and said unto " him, what I do thou knowest not now, but thou " shalt know hereafter."—From all these I concluded we should lose *that* battle, but that the King and Constitution would be still upheld.

BATTLE OF CASTLEBAR.

AT 7 o'clock the French army was within a mile and a half of the town: our Infantry went out, and the lines were formed. When the French General viewed our lines, he scattered his Frenchmen in parties thin in the front, but covered them deep behind with the rebels in French uniform, and drove them on with a strong reserve of Frenchmen and officers, and behind all, a vast multitude of plunderers, terrible to behold! especially as a mist lowered on the mountains behind them, which concealed their true force from our Generals—we stood in the street with trembling expectation, whilst Generals, Aids-de-camp and officers rushed up and down in dread commotion. I then retired, and ascended to a high window, from whence I saw our lines in action. O how I felt for the brave Highlanders, who formed the left wing of our army; they, planted on a high hedge at the west end of the town, supported a constant fire until the French advanced near the points of their bayonets; the Highlanders were then forced to leave their post, and retreat in confusion towards us. Col. Miller rushed into the town, crying, “Clear the street for a street action;” when in a moment, as a dam bursting its banks, a mixture of soldiers, of all kinds, rushed into the town at every avenue; a serjeant desired that all the women should go to the barrack, but Dr. Hennins, another family and mine, retired into a house, fell on our knees, and there remained in prayer until the town was taken.

THERE were men in our brigade of the highest valour, for instance Captain Chambers, he fought backward and killed a field-officer (it is thought a general); he found a musquet in his way, which he exchanged with a trooper for a lighter; with this he fought on the bridge, until he killed five Frenchmen; he was then closely engaged with a French musqueteer, when another Frenchman ran a bayonet down the Captain's throat, and drove the point of it out at the side of his

neck ; he fell, and nearly bled to death, when the rebels wantonly leaped on him, tore his clothes off, and robbed him of several guineas. On the other hand, the French fought most desperately.—One of them received a ball in the sword-arm, he changed his sword and fought on—he then received a ball in the left breast, but fought on ; at length, a royal soldier plunged his bayonet through him. Now the royal troops grew furious ! Many had their wives in the town, and would rather die than fly. Four brave Highlanders at a cannon, kept up a brisk fire on the French ; but were killed while loading, the gunner taken, and the guns turned on our men. Now the street-action became hot—before it was *peal* answering *peal*, but now *thunder* answering *thunder* ; a black cloud of horrors hid the light of heaven—the messengers of death groping their way as in gloomy hell, whilst the trembling echos which shook our town, concealed the more melancholy groans of the dying ! When they approached the new jail, our centinel (a Fraser fencible) killed one Frenchman, charged and killed another ; shot a third and a fourth, and as he fired at and killed the fifth, a number rushed up the steps, dashed his brains out, tumbling him from his stand and the centry-box on his body. Still part of the French pursued our men ; seven of them followed thirty-eight some distance, though our men killed the whole without any loss on their part. One of these seven Frenchmen had his head divided by a sabre ; a woman asked him in French would he be taken to some place, “ No,” said he, “ I will never leave this until the Devil takes me,” and continued calling for beer until he died.—For near an hour the street-action continued, when the French drum informed us we were to receive our conquerors. The command of temper evinced by these licensed plunderers of the world was truly amazing. My wife fell on her knees (she was at the doorway) entreating one of them to spare my life, he raised her up as a nurse would an infant saying, “ *vive*,” but they demanded beef, bread, wine

and beer; we purchased their favor as far as in our power, but the hand of God wrought secretly for us; six or seven of the Frenchmen continued with me while they were in Castlebar. The rebels who came in with them plundered, drank and robbed without feeling—They carried off my wearing apparel, of which I acquainted the Frenchmen, who handled them so roughly as to prevent a further repetition of such villainy.

THE French and rebels plundered Lord Lucan's and several other houses, the sight of them was truly terrible! Multitudes flocking from all parts carrying their flags and shouting for *Liberty*. Drove of sheep, cows and horses driven in every day—Next the *tree of liberty* and a harp without a crown, are borne in triumph through the streets, followed by the common shouts "Erin go braugh."—Now the church is attacked; obscene figures made on the pews, and some were so vile as to abuse in the most filthy manner, the *Bible and Table of the Lord!* They called the Bible *the Devil's book*. Roach told a lady, "he hoped that book of riddles would soon be universally despised." The next subject in dispute is the massacre of the Protestants—for three days this contest held. Teeling, a priest Kane, and some others carried the point in *our* favor. Mr. Kane reasoned thus, as I am informed: "Gentlemen, when you were in the power of the Protestants, they did not shed your blood; when your friends were taken in Wexford, they were not put to death, but pardoned, and take care you be not shortly in the power of government—Finally, if you will massacre the Protestants, put me to death with them."

THE following proclamation was handed about to the deluded rebels.

Cc

ARMY OF IRELAND.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Head-quarters at Castlebar, 14th Fructidor, 6th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

GENERAL HUMBERT, commanding in chief, the army of Ireland, being desirous of organizing, with as little delay as possible, an administrative power for the province of Connaught, directs as follows :

1st. The seat of the government shall be at Castlebar, until further orders.

2d. The government shall be formed of 12 members, who shall be named by the commander in chief of the French army.

3d. Citizen John Moore is appointed president of the government of the province of Connaught, and is specially entrusted with the nomination and the uniting of its members.

4th. The government shall immediately attend to the organization of the militia of the province of Connaught, and to the supplies for the French and Irish armies.

5th. Eight regiments of infantry of 1200 men each, and four regiments of cavalry of 600 men each, shall be organized.

6th. The government shall declare all those to be rebels and traitors, who having received arms, or clothing, shall not within twenty-four hours rejoin the army.

7th. Every individual, from the age of 16 to 40 inclusive, is required in the name of the Irish Republic, instantly to repair to the French camp, in order to march in mass against the common enemy, the tyrants of Ireland—the English ; whose destruction alone can insure the independence and the welfare of ancient Hibernia.

(Signed)

The General Commanding in Chief,
HUMBERT.

How far the two following letters of Gen. Humbert's will be found correct, I am not competent to determine; as they have however appeared in print, they cannot, I presume, subject your publication to censure: they also may be found interesting—the reader by consulting the various accounts given will be enabled to form an opinion of their validity.

ARMY OF IRELAND.

Head-quarters at Castlebar, 6th year of the French Republic.

The General Commanding in Chief the Army of Ireland, to the Executive Directory.

I AM to report to you, Citizens Directors, what have been my operations in Ireland.

ON the 4th Fructidor, as soon as I got within sight of Broadhaven, the army received the appellation of *Army of Ireland*. The wind being unfavourable, we could not make the land on that day.

ON the 5th, the division of frigates, after beating against wind and tide during twelve hours, anchored in the bay of Killala about three o'clock, P. M. In consequence of our having hoisted the English flag, many persons of note, and some English officers, came on board; it is impossible to describe their astonishment at the sight of us. At four orders were given to disembark. The adjutant general Sarazin landed first, at the head of the grenadiers. I ordered him to march to Killala, which he carried with the bayonet. I appointed him general of brigade on the field of battle. The enemy was completely defeated. Of 200 men who defended the post, about 20 only escaped over the walls—the rest were taken or killed. Almost all the prisoners begged to be permitted to serve with us, and I readily consented to their re-

quest. The disembarkation was compleated towards 10 o'clock at night.

ON the 6th, General Sarazin reconnoitred Ballina: a slight skirmish only took place, the enemy's cavalry having retired in full gallop the space of two leagues.

ON the 7th, I marched with the army against Ballina. General Sarazin at the head of the grenadiers and of one battalion of the line, dispersed every thing that opposed his passage. The Adjutant General Fontaine was directed to turn the enemy's flank.— This attack succeeded, and he took several prisoners. I pursued the cavalry during a considerable time, with the brave 3d regiment of Chasseurs a Cheval.

ON the 8th the French army was joined by a corps of United Irishmen, who were armed and clothed on the spot. Towards three o'clock P. M. I moved forward to Rappa, and remained in that direction until two o'clock A. M.

ON the 9th, the army advanced to Ballina, where it took post, but marched from it at three o'clock P. M. After a march of fifteen hours I arrived on the 10th, at six o'clock in the morning on the heights in the rear of Castlebar. Having examined the enemy's position, which was very strong, I ordered general Sarazin to commence the attack. The enemy's out-posts were rapidly driven in, and were pursued as far as the foot of the enemy's position. The grenadiers charged their line of battle, and were supported by the infantry of the line. The columns were employed under the fire of 12 pieces of cannon. General Sarazin ordered the enemy's left to be attacked by a battalion of the line, which was obliged to give way, having received the fire of upwards of 2000 men. General Sarazin flew to its support at the head of the grenadiers, and repulsed the enemy. The English during half an hour, kept up a tremendous fire of musquetry, to which general Sarazin forbid reposting. Our determined countenance disconcerted the English General, and as soon as the whole of the ar-

my had come up, I ordered a general attack to be made. General Sarazin drove in the enemy's right, and took three pieces of cannon. The Chief of Battalion, Ardouin, obliged his left to retire to Castlebar.

THE enemy having concentrated his force in Castlebar, and protected by his artillery, kept up a terrible fire—but by a successful charge of the third regiment of Chasseurs à Cheval, made through the main street of Castlebar, he was forced to retire across the bridge. After several very destructive charges, both of cavalry and infantry, directed by General Sarazin and Adjutant-general Fontaine, the enemy was driven from all his positions, and pursued for the space of two leagues.

THE enemy's loss amounts to 1800 men, (of which 600 were killed or wounded, and 1200 prisoners) ten pieces of cannon, five stand of colours, 1200 firelocks, and almost all his baggage. The standard of his cavalry was taken in a charge by General Sarazin, whom I named General of division on the field of battle. I also, during the action, appointed the Adjutant-general Fontaine, General of brigade, and the Chiefs of battalion Azemare, Ardouin, and Dufour, Chiefs of brigade. I further named Captain Durival a commander of squadron, and Captains Toussaint, Zilberman, Ranou, Huette, Babiou, and Rutz, chiefs of battalion. I beg, citizens directors, that you will be pleased to confirm these promotions, and that you will send the commissions as soon as possible, as it will be productive of very good effects.

OFFICERS and soldiers have shewn prodigies of valour. We have to regret the loss of some excellent officers and very brave soldiers. I shall very shortly forward to you further details; at present I will only add, that the enemy's army, consisting of between five and six thousand men, of which six hundred are cavalry, has been completely dispersed.

Health and respect,

(Signed)

HUMBERT.

ARMY OF IRELAND.

Head-quarters, Castlebar, sixth year of the French Republic.

The General commanding in chief the Army of Ireland, to the Minister of Marine.

I TRANSMIT to you, citizen minister, the copy of my letter to the Executive Directory. You will perceive that no exertions are wanting on our part to fulfil the intentions of government.

I HAVE made several appointments, according to the actions and to the military talents displayed by those whom they regard, and I solicit your support in obtaining from the executive directory a confirmation of them.

ABOUT six hundred United Irish joined me on the 8th Fructidor, and were immediately armed and clothed. On the 10th they came forward to the heights in the rear of Castlebar. The first cannon shot that was fired drove them off. I expected as much, and their panic in no way deranged my operations.

THE victory of Castlebar has produced excellent effects ; and I hope within three days to have with me a corps of two or three thousand of the inhabitants.

THE English army, which I yesterday defeated, is commanded by General Houghton, whose headquarters are now at Tuam. He intends to assemble twenty-five thousand men to attack me ; and on my side I am doing my utmost to be well prepared for his reception, and even to go and meet him should circumstances justify such proceeding. We occupy Killala, Ballina, Foxford, Castlebar, Newport, Balinrobe, and Westport. As soon as the corps of United Irishmen, which I wish to assemble, shall be clothed, I shall march against the enemy in the direction of Roscommon, where the partizans of the insurrection are most zealous. As soon as the Eng-

lish army shall have evacuated the province of Connaught, I shall pass the Shannon, and shall endeavour to make a junction with the insurgents in the North. When this shall have been effected, I shall be in a sufficient force to march to Dublin, and to fight a decisive action.

THE Irish have until this day, hung back. The county of Mayo has never been disturbed, and this must account for the slowness of our progress, which in other parts would have been very different.

As this handful of French may possibly be obliged to yield to numbers, and that the noise of cannon may again produce on our new soldiers the effect it had at Castlebar, I desire you will send me one battalion of the third half brigade of light infantry, one of the tenth half brigade of the line, one hundred and fifty of the third regiment of chasseurs a Cheval, and one hundred men of the light artillery ; fifteen thousand fire-locks, and a million of cartridges.

I WILL venture to assert, that in the course of a month after the arrival of this reinforcement, which I estimate at two thousand men, Ireland will be free.

THE fleet may anchor in the bay of *Tarby*, by 53, 55 latitude, south of *L'Isle Muttette*, and the disembarkation will be effected without difficulty.

I CANNOT sufficiently praise the conduct of the troops under my command. I must recommend my brave comrades to the gratitude of the nation, and to your paternal care.

Health and respect.

(Signed)

HUMBERT.

To account in part for our defeat at Castlebar, and also refute Humbert's pompous letter, it may not be improper (though not in the proposed order) to extract from a recent publication, the words of an officer serving under Lord Cornwallis, relative to the engagement at this place.

“ THE French, with about fifteen hundred rebels, advanced in regular order upon the King’s troops, who waited their approach in the position they occupied. The artillery, under Captain Shortall, was admirably served, and made a visible impression, insomuch that the enemy’s advance was actually checked, and they began to disperse : at this critical moment, our troops, as if seized with a sudden panic, and without any apparent reason, gave way ; and notwithstanding every effort made by Lieutenant-general Lake, Major-generals Hutchinson and Trench, and the very meritorious exertions of all their officers, they could not be rallied, but retired in confusion through Castlebar, towards Hollymount. Lord Roden’s fencible dragoons, however, shewed great gallantry upon this as they had upon all other occasions ; they protected the retreat of the infantry, and even recovered a six-pounder which the French had pushed forward through Castlebar. The skeleton of the sixth regiment, under Major Macbean, also behaved with spirit in the action.

THE following is the return* of killed, wounded and missing, and of guns lost upon this unfortunate occasion. Of the soldiers of the Longford and Kilkenny militia returned missing, the greater part had deserted to the enemy. The loss of the French in killed and wounded (and resulting almost entirely from the effect of the artillery,) was afterwards found to have been far more considerable than that of the King’s troops.”

THE total of our loss was, one serjeant and fifty-two rank and file killed ; two Lieutenants’ three serjeants, and twenty-nine rank and file wounded ; two Majors, three Captains, six Lieutenants, three Ensigns, two Staff, ten serjeants, two drummers, and two hundred and fifty-one rank and file missing—also nine field-pieces.

* By comparing our return with Humbert’s, page 297, the fallacy is notorious, and tends more fully to establish the French to excel in gasconading.

CASTLEBAR was nine days a republic; they elected a Mayor, two high Justices and six Municipal officers: *liberty, equality, fraternity and unity*, were their boasted professions!—Tho' we were slaves; was this *liberty*? The French eat bread and beef, drank wine and beer, giving the Irish potatoes, and telling them to drink what they pleased;—the French slept on *beds*, and the Irish on *hay* in the fields; was this *equality*? the French beat and treated the rebels like dogs; was this *fraternity*? and *they* shot and murdered each other, was this *unity*? No; all was *democracy!!!* Next we were informed that every one who would not take up arms for the French should be put to death—then for the second time I resolved to meet death, and felt in prospect the sweets of martyrdom.—It has been reported that the French abused women indiscriminately; but this is false—Many of us proved them both brave and generous—those who were lions in the street, seemed like lambs in the parlour—however I have imagined this to be policy; and that if they had once conquered the country, they would in a mass cut off all who had opposed them: of this I am the more persuaded, their first tax upon Castlebar being 2000 Guineas.—Cruel specimen of freedom. This is most certain, the French mocked the Papists, for paying any respect to the Sabbath, not eating meat on Fridays, and wearing Scapulars, and in my own hearing they denied the resurrection.

Thus were we of necessity subject to this wild tyranny; had 2000 kings in our little town; women worse than savages, bearing off hides, tallow, suet, beef, and clothes of all kinds to the mountains—they even robbed and killed each other; a volume only would contain their unnatural acts. The day before they left us, the Marquis Cornwallis reached to Holymount, fourteen miles from us, and on that night one of the Frenchmen who frequented my apartments came to me, told me the *English* were coming, and that they must depart; I then thought to meet them;

but he meant to flee before them. On the ninth day they departed, commanding their commissary and the mayor to have beef sufficient killed for them on their return. But they returned no more! And the Lord sent their fatal harpies and devouring locusts with them.

We remained in great distress, dreading their return all that day. Dr. Ellison wrote a letter, and a young man, William Mayley, on my horse (who was hid in a back kiln, and was five days without food or water,) ventured to carry it to the Lord Lieutenant. The doctor finding the French were not returning, though he was their prisoner, set out when, near Hollymount, he met some Hessians, Hanoverians, and Roxburgh fencibles, coming from the Marquis; with them he returned to Castlebar, at ten of a dark night. When our hope was nearly gone we heard the noise of horses, ran to the street, and heard the Hessians (whom we supposed to be French) crying halloo! halloo! We remained silent, till Dr. Ellison cried aloud, the "King's troops:" with grateful hearts we shouted "God save the King." These brave men kept their saddles all night, though such a heavy rain has been seldom experienced, and next day rode after the grand army, leaving us an hundred French prisoners, fifty of whom were able to fight: we had no other force than a few yeomen. In this fearful situation we remained, until Captain Urquhart marched in with fifty-seven Fraser fencibles—thus we were obliged still to continue in a state of watching and terror for some nights.

On Wednesday, September 12, before day-break two of our men being stationed as picquets, Messrs Edward Mayley and John Dudgeon, they heard the noise of horses coming from the Gap, and proceeding to the road-side, demanded, "Who comes there?" Ans. "A friend." "A friend to whom?" Ans. "To the French." "O very well," said our heroes "Come on, my lads, where are you going?" The rebels answered, "We are going to take Castlebar

ve are captains, and there are two thousand coming
 within half a mile of us." Immediately these two
 brave loyalists closed in with them; one of them pre-
 sented a pistol, the other his sword, saying "deliver
 our arms or you are dead men." Having made
 them prisoners, they entered the town shouting,
 murder! murder! arise to arms, or you will be
 burned in your beds." This echoed so loud, all the
 town rung with it—hundreds repeated it;—men un-
 dressed rushed through the streets—incessant rain
 heavily descended! the drums beat "to arms, to
 arms," whilst the dark solitary walls re-echoed, "to
 arms, to arms!!!" At last the tempest silenced the
 drum: but no cause could allay the vigilance of our
 townsmen, and the gallant handful of Frasers. The
 guards continued to bring in prisoners till morning.
 At last welcome day shone upon our afflicted
 town; to me it afforded much consolation, my wife
 being in the pangs of childbearing all night, though
 thought will light save us? no! only serve to dis-
 play our danger—thus hope and apprehension bent
 alternately the balance. At length all our forebodings
 were confirmed by a discovery of the plodding assassins,
 planted to great advantage round the North-west
 part of our devoted town. Capt. Urquhart, with the
 spirit of an Alexander commanded his few heroes to
 advance in order. Our defence that day against
 1000 armed rebels, (in a country all in rebellion and
 numbers in our town with open arms ready to re-
 ceive them) consisted of 57 Frasers, 34 townsmen
 and boys—and one corps of yeomen cavalry. The
 Fraser captain divided his men into four parts—one
 part by the only piece of cannon he had, at the mar-
 ket cross—the second part he posted in the centre,
 between the market-house and the extreme entrance
 to the town—with the third part he covered half of
 the cavalry at the North end of the town, where he
 judged the rebels would attempt an entrance, and
 the fourth part he posted in a Western-street, near
 the bridge to cover the retreat of the 34 infantry, who

were townsmen, chiefly volunteers in coloured clothes, and the other part of the cavalry he posted on an eminence in the South end of the town opposite the church.

THE wisdom of Captain Urquhart in this distribution of his men appears, when we consider, first, the Frasers were so placed, that they defended the town entrance—secondly, they were ready to save the cavalry from the pikes—thirdly, they could support the retreat of the 34 townsmen if overcome—fourthly, they had such command of the interior of the street and goal, that our intestine foes could not stir; and fifthly all the Frasers could in a moment rush together, and assist each other if occasion required. I cannot say whether the captain had all this in view, but I could prove it all from the positions of his little Highland army. There was in the town at this time a certain gentleman who gave it as his advice to flee to Tuam, and leave our wives, children, sick and aged with our property to the savage plunderers—I mention this to correct a base newspaper report which gave him the chief place in our deliverance—But thank God a Scotchman had the command—Captain Urquhart will be held in grateful remembrance by the loyalists of Castlebar.

SECOND BATTLE OF CASTLEBAR.

ABOUT 7 o'clock in the morning the firing commenced; the rebels were furious, and fired with determination and close direction, at length a Mr. John Gallagher rushed from his ranks upon the rebels and was followed by his brother who commanded the party—another party then flew on the enemy—the Frasers burned with ardour to be in the action: hence all pursue the flying banditti, except a small detachment which remained with Lieut. Denham to keep possession of the town—now the cavalry dart upon them, kill and take prisoners until they fill our goals—numbers attempting to cross a river were

drowned, and many found dead in a lake. One rebel prisoner brought in, (his neck torn by a ball and two lodged in his body,) confessed that the intentions of that band were, to destroy the Protestants, man, woman and child—and to plunder the town, killing even the Loyal Papists! Thus by divine mercy ended the second engagement at Castlebar! It was awful to see those harpies like rooks blackening the distant hills as they ascended. After this Newport and Westport were taken by the rebels, but Capt. Urquhart with the Rt. Hon. D. Browne, re-took both.

FURTHER ACCOUNT

OF THE

INSURRECTION,

IN THE COUNTIES OF

CAVAN AND LONGFORD,

In consequence of the French Invasion, in August 1798.

IN a former part of this work, a detail has been given of the *various actions which had taken place between his Majesty's troops and the rebel armies*, previous to the autumn of 1798. It would naturally be supposed that the numerous defeats which the rebels had every where experienced, would have been sufficient to have deterred them from any further efforts in the field; but the approach of foreign aid roused all their hopes, and animated them to fresh enterprises.

IN the counties of Westmeath and Longford, and in parts of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, the agents of the treasonable societies had been uncommonly successful in enlisting the lower orders of society under their banners. However, in the two latter counties, they had not been able to seduce any person of wealth or consequence to become a leader; but in the county of Longford they found many of that description, who were enthusiasts in their cause, and who influenced thousands by their example.—Amongst these were Alexander and Hans Denniston, both of them men of property and respectability in the neighbourhood of Granard, the former of whom was the first lieut. in the Mastrim yeomen cavalry; and several other members of that corps. O'Hara, Cromie and many more, also raised the rebel standard, and armed their followers against their king.

THE last expedition prepared by the French republic against Ireland, was previously well known to the traitors in Belfast, and elsewhere. Hans Denniston was dispatched from the county of Longford to that town, to receive instructions. His return to the county of Longford was to be the signal for a general rising, in order to co-operate with and assist the French troops, who were then in the kingdom, and were advancing rapidly, and with whom the Longford rebels kept up a close communication from the moment of their landing. A strong post in a fertile part of the kingdom was deemed necessary to be secured for the French, in their progress to Dublin, and Granard, which lay in the circuitous route which the position of Lord Cornwallis's army obliged the French general to take, seemed to be such a post as was desired. Every thing was prepared for securing that place, by what they deemed an irresistible attack. Hans Denniston had returned from Belfast on the third of September—agents and emissaries were dispatched every where, to collect the rebel troops. Three thousand came from the county of Westmeath, and in their march they disarmed a part of the Mas-

n corps, commanded by captain Bond, several affected members of which joined the rebels.—Great and shameful neglect was imputable to those whose duty it was, and who had full opportunity of warning Granard of its approaching danger; but either cowardice or disaffection withheld those persons from doing any act which might prove prejudicial to the rebel cause; and thus Granard remained unapprized of the approach of the enemy, till it was too late to prepare against it. Armies were organized in the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, and were ready to co-operate with the Longford rebels as soon as Granard had fallen—of which event no doubt was then ascertained; and Cavan, where there was a considerable depot of arms and ammunition, was to be immediately attacked by the united rebel armies, whose numbers would then have been immense—Monaghan alone furnished twenty-three thousand men, who were armed, and ready to march to form junction with the Longford and Cavan rebels, as soon as Granard was taken.

THE garrison of Granard was at that time very weak. The yeomen corps of that town, and a few of the Ballymacue corps, under Captain Pales, were only defence. On the night of the fourth of September, the rebels encamped within view of the place; that day detachments from two of the county of Cavan corps were sent thither, consisting of twenty men of the Crossdoney infantry, and fifteen of the more corps; but this reinforcement could be of little service in resisting the threatened attack on Granard. In the night of that day, expresses were sent thence to Major Porter, who commanded the Tyrone fencible regiment, to send speedy relief.—That regiment had arrived but a day or two before at Belfast at Cavan and Belturbet, by forced march, in order to oppose the progress of the French, who were advancing from Castlebar. Major Porter, contrary to the orders he had received, did not hold himself at liberty to detach any of his men from Cavan,

which was a post of infinitely more importance than Granard; and conceiving that the appearance of the rebels before Granard might be only a feint to draw off or weaken the garrison of Cavan, and thereby expose it to a successful attack—he therefore for some time prudently declined to send any troops from thence; but further expresses continuing to arrive from Granard, at one o'clock, A. M. on the 5th, Major Porter consented that captain Cottingham should march to its relief, with detachments of the Cavan and Ballintemple corps of yeomen infantry. The events of the 5th of September have been already laid before the public in the official letter written on the spot by captain Cottingham, which letter is here transcribed.

GRANARD, SEPT. 6, 1798.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honor to state to your Lordship that the rebels were yesterday defeated near this place with great slaughter.

HAVING received orders from Major Porter, of the Argyle regiment, who commanded at Cavan, to proceed without delay with detachments from the Cavan and Ballintemple corps of yeomen-infantry, consisting of eighty-five men, to the relief of Granard which was threatened by the rebels—I marched from Cavan at three o'clock in the morning of the 5th inst. with all possible expedition, and arrived between 7 and 8 at Granard—the rebel army was then in view of the town, in full march to it, armed with musquetry and pikes, amounting (as appeared by the testimony of several prisoners) to more than 600 men, and commanded by Mr. Denniston, a lieutenant in the Mastrim cavalry, who, with others of the corps, and several respectable persons in that neighbourhood, had joined the rebel standard.

BATTLE OF GRANARD.

THE hill on which Granard is built, affording me a strong position, I there drew up under cover of a hedge at some distance from the town, my whole force consisting only of one hundred and fifty seven infantry, and forty-nine cavalry, and composed of the above detachments and those specified in the margin,* who had formed the garrison of that place.—The rebels advanced in one column to attack us in front, but seeing the advantage which our situation gave us, and which protected our front, they halted; and after firing some shots at us, they formed themselves into three columns, the centre of one of which was comparatively weak and irregular, and advancing slowly, was evidently intended merely to engage our attention, while the other two columns, which were of great strength, and formed in perfect military order, moved off to the right and left, under cover of a high hedge, for the purpose of gaining our flanks, and cutting off our communication with the town; this made it necessary that I should retreat to a second position nearer to Granard. The rebels having collected a vast number of cattle, and having loaded them with their pikes, drove them at this instant furiously against us, but we had the good fortune to be able, without being thrown into confusion, to turn them aside in another direction.

Our front being again protected by a bank, we waited the approach of the rebels, who trusting to the effect which they expected from the fury of the cattle, advanced close to our line, and were received by a fire so well directed and heavy, that they soon fell into disorder, and after some time began to give way in all points. This happy moment was seized,

* Cavan infantry, 53—Ballintemple do. 31—Longford do. 9—Crossdoney do. 25—Kilmore do. 15—Ballymacue dismounted cavalry, 24—Total 157. Ballymacue cavalry, 18—Granard do. 31—Total 49.

and the bayonet completed their defeat. The slaughter which ensued was great indeed—and would have been infinitely more so, had the nature of the ground been such as to have allowed the cavalry to act. It is impossible as yet to ascertain the number of the slain—but they greatly exceed four hundred men. Several leaders were killed, one of whom was the son of a gentleman of an ancient and respectable family, whose only consolation now is, that he has expiated his treason with his life.

THE action continued with little interruption from a few minutes after nine till near three in the afternoon. One column of the rebel army fled over the mountains towards Mohill, and the other took its direction towards Edgeworthstown. I have the singular happiness to state, that on our part not a life was lost; and only two men were wounded, both of whom are recovering.

WHEN it is considered that the whole force which I had the honor to command on this occasion, consisted entirely of detachments from yeomenry corps, so few in number, and without the aid of any regular troops, and opposed to an enemy so formidable by their numbers, I hope your Lordship and their country will think, that they have faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them.

WERE my tribute of praise of any value to the officers with whom I had the honor to act, I would have much to say; but the event speaks a language stronger than my pen can utter. It is a matter of real regret, that the exertions of the cavalry were so severely restrained by the strength of the inclosures, which disabled them from adding that eclat to the action which their spirit and zeal would otherwise have done. I cannot, however, omit my acknowledgements to captain Palles, of the Ballymacue cavalry, and captain Bell, and lieutenant Helden of the Granard cavalry, for their anxious endeavours to contribute to the success of the day; to lieutenants Ersline and Armstrong, of the Cavan infantry; lieuten-

ant Bell, of the Ballintemple infantry ; lieutenant Booth, of the Crossdoney infantry ; lieutenant Bell, of the Ballymacue dismounted cavalry, and Moutray Erskine, Esq. who gallantly volunteered on this occasion ; and to the troops in general, I can only say, that the history of the day will be the best comment on their conduct.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. H. COTTINGHAM,

Capt. Cavan and Ballyhaise infantry.

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

To the particulars detailed in the above letter are superadded a few more, which will assist in laying before the reader the fullest statement of an action, the benefits resulting from which were of an extent great beyond calculation.

WHEN captain Cottingham had taken up his position to receive the attack of the rebel army, the moat of Granard, and the barracks, were occupied by the Granard dismounted cavalry. The moat is a small Danish fort, raised to a considerable height above the adjoining ground, and lately surrounded by a low parapet wall, by the hon. major Pakenham, of the 23d light dragoons, who had been quartered there at the time of the French landing—within the fort is a very small brick building, which serves as a guard-room, and the whole fort is capable of containing about fifty men. It stands near the western entrance into Granard, on the highest point of the hill on which that town is built. The barracks are at the eastern entrance into the town—they are surrounded by a high wall, on the four angles of which four small bastions have been erected. In this place Ralph Dopping, Esq. took post with a few men, and by his judicious and spirited conduct, checked the left column of the rebels, which had attempted to enter at that end of the town, and had made a violent effort to take the barracks by assault.

DURING the whole of this memorable action, captain Cottingham received the most essential assistance from Andrew Bell, Esq. of Drumkeel, in the county of Cavan, a member of the attornies cavalry, who though not attached to any corps engaged on that day, yet in the most spirited manner volunteered his services, and acted as aid-de-camp to captain Cottingham during the heat of the action, and by the precision with which he delivered every order from the commanding officer, and by his own personal exertions, at a time when every individual had ample scope for individual exertions, is fully entitled to those acknowledgments, which captain Cottingham has been heard to make, and which were omitted in the official account before transcribed, through the hurry and tumult which naturally took place at the time when that account was written—but the names of Mr. Dopping and Mr. Bell should not now be omitted, in a work, which has for one of its objects, not only the detail of gallant actions, but also that of being a memorial of those to whom their country became indebted in the moment of her distress.

THE number of the slain on that day, far exceeded the amount stated in the official letter ; we have authority to say it nearly doubled it. The defeat of the rebels was so complete, as well as so unexpected by them, that almost all their chiefs, who survived the action, fled in every direction, and every hope was blasted of again raising the standard of rebellion in that neighbourhood. This will fully appear, when it is told, that on the approach of the French to the town of Granard, on the eighth of September, not a single rebel was seen to raise his head in that neighbourhood.

THE right column of the rebel army was by much the strongest ; and was composed principally of the rebels who had marched on the day preceding from the county of Westmeath. A large body of these moved off together, after their defeat, to Wilson's

Hospital,* which they took possession of, and were there preparing to butcher in cold blood, a number of Protestants, whom they had confined in some of the rooms; when Major Porter, who had marched from Cavan the evening after the action at Granard, fortunately arrived at the Hospital, with two hundred and fifty of his regiment, Captain Palles and his cavalry, and some other corps of yeomen-cavalry, who had joined him. After a short but smart action, the rebels fled in every direction, and the wretched victims were rescued from death at the very instant, when it was to be dealt out to them in a manner the most savage.

THE plans of the rebels were fully discovered. Had Granard fallen into their hands, of which they admitted no doubt, Cavan was on the next day to have been attacked by the Granard army, aided by above twenty three thousand men from the county of Monaghan alone; whilst other rebel armies, which were fully organized, and ready to rise at a moment's warning, were to fall on Belturbet and Killishandra. The weight of their immense numbers, flushed with victory, and inspired by the near approach of the French, would too probably have borne down the gallant troops, which defended those places. Had they fallen, the French would have been enabled to have thrown great and powerful obstacles in the way of the Marquis of Cornwallis and of General Lake: and the scenes of devastation and of murder, which a victorious rebel army would too surely have exhibited, would have rendered the North alike with the South—a dreadful example of the effects of rebellion.

GREAT and decisive therefore, were the benefits derived from this victory. The safety of the North, perhaps of Dublin too, was secured by it.

* Detailed in pages 314—318.

ACCOUNT
OF THE
INSURRECTION,
IN
WESTMEATH COUNTY, &c.

Letter to the Publisher.

MULLINGAR, OCTOBER 3, 1799.

SIR,

WILSON'S HOSPITAL, is a very fine Protestant institution. It is situated about six miles from Mullingar, on the Longford side, and lies between the villages of Multifarnam and Bunbrusna. On Tuesday, the fourth of September 1798, in the middle of the day, a party of armed rebels, several of whom were the hospital labourers, ran into the house, with intention of surprising the Rev. Mr. Radcliffe, who is chaplain and superintendant, for taking care of the arms. He happened to see them when they were near the door, and had just time to snatch a gun and run to meet them. This opposition, though unassisted, except by a servant-boy who carried a blunderbuss for him, was for that day effectual; as the party thought proper to retreat without accomplishing their purpose. In the scuffle Mr. R. was very severely wounded, and two of the rebel captains slightly.

ON Wednesday, the fifth of September, at about seven o'clock in the morning, the hospital was surrounded by a prodigious multitude of rebels, men and women, amounting on a moderate computation, to upwards of five thousand. Their cry was for the arms,

which Mr. R. being weak from the loss of blood, and not having any one he could depend on, ordered to be delivered to them, on their promise of retiring peaceably. As soon, however, as they had got the arms, they broke in the doors with sledges, and plundered the house of many articles—they even took away the clothes of the old men and boys, and stripped off their shoes and stockings. After they had plundered for an hour; they took Mr. R. prisoner, and brought him to the village of Multifarnam, where he was liberated through the interposition of Mr. Moran, the parish-priest. He was then so fortunate as to get safe into Mullingar, where he was confined by his wounds for eight weeks. The rebel army marched from Multifarnam to the crooked wood, five miles from the Hospital, expecting to be joined there by great numbers from the county of Meath; they remained in the wood all the night of Wednesday the fifth, feasting on the fat sheep of the neighbouring gentry, and drinking the wine, &c. which they had plundered from different houses. On Thursday morning they returned to Wilson's Hospital, took possession of it as a barrack, and were joined by a large body from the county of Longford. Their numbers now amounted to upwards of seven thousand men, remarkably well armed, and so confident were they of victory, that they were frequently heard to defy the army of ten counties. The strength of their position was indeed very great, being surrounded by walls, thick hedges, and plantations. They had taken in the two preceding days, twenty-eight Protestant prisoners, who had not given them any other offence, except that of being *Protestants*! These unfortunate people were now *hourly threatened* with a cruel death; and as some of them have declared, were on the point of being led out to be butchered, when the report of a cannon at a little distance, threw the rebels into confusion.

LORD LONGFORD, who had not been apprized of the rising till Wednesday the fifth, used most un-

common exertions to collect a force capable of opposing so large a body of rebels with some prospect of success; and was so fortunate as to join two corps of yeomenry to his own, one from Finnæ in the county of Cavan, and one from Oldcastle in the county of Meath. With this force, amounting in the whole, cavalry and infantry, to something upwards of one hundred, his lordship marched towards the hospital, on Thursday the sixth; and near the village of Bunbrusna, at about four o'clock, P. M. was joined by a detachment of the Argyle fencibles, one hundred strong, with one field-piece, commanded by major Porter. This detachment marched that morning from Granard, a distance of twelve miles, and met Lord Longford by appointment.

BATTLE OF WILSON'S HOSPITAL.

As soon as the rebels were convinced the army had arrived at this place, they sent five hundred of their stoutest men from the hospital, armed with musquets and fowling-pieces, and a large body of pikemen, to attack them. The Highlanders were at this time posted on the high road, near Bunbrusna, drawn up in very close order, with the field-piece in their centre.

A DESPERATE party of rebels issued from the main body, and ran with violence towards the cannon, advancing almost to its muzzle, with a determination to seize it; but by a discharge of grape-shot, they were made to pay dearly for their temerity. At this time, two of the artillery-men were shot by a rebel from behind a hedge.

THE infantry now, made so good a use of their musquets, that the rebels broke, and were pursued by the cavalry in all directions. A large party fled to the hill of Laney, just by, and were overtaken by the yeomenry, who did great execution among them. Another party got into the house and offices of a wealthy farmer, on the Mullingar road, and from

thence fired on the troops ; the thatch taking fire from the wadding of the guns, the houses were consumed ; and it was said, that several of the rebels were burned in them. Another party took shelter behind the demesne walls, and in the plantations of the hospital, but were quickly dislodged by two or three discharges of grape-shot. At the *attack on the cannon*, one Barden, the leader, a rich miller, was heard to cry out, " Boys, seize the gun, and the day is your own ; then twist your pikes in their Protestant guts, and tear their Orange souls out." Darknes coming on put a stop to the exertions of the military, who lay all night on their arms ; the fencibles on the road, near the hospital, and the yeomenry in a field behind it. In the middle of the night, a party of rebels stole unperceived within shot of the yeomenry, and discharged a volley at them, but without effect ; Lord Longford's infantry returned the fire, and twelve men of the rebels were found dead in the morning. At break of day on Friday the 7th of September, major Porter supposing that the rebels were in possession of the hospital, was preparing to batter it, when he was informed they had evacuated the place. The troops then marched into it, and refreshed themselves with wine, and beef and mutton, ready dressed : a large quantity of provisions having been prepared for the French, who were expected by the rebels that day. All the black cattle and sheep which had been driven into the hospital demesne, were restored to their proper owners. The rebels were said to have lost in the engagement and pursuit, near two hundred killed and wounded. Could the battle have begun two or three hours sooner, the slaughter would have been prodigious. Thousands threw away their arms, and fled in the greatest confusion, on the first report of the cannon, and never again returned to the scene of action.

THE loss, on the part of the king's troops, was only the two artillery-men before mentioned. Thus, under the direction of Providence, were seven thou-

sand rebels well armed, and confident in their strenght, routed by about two hundred loyalists, who had made a fatiguing march on the day of battle. At the time of the insurrection, the Northumberland fencibles, a fine regiment, lay at Mullingar, but were so weakened by sending detachments to different parts, that the commanding officer thought his whole force barely sufficient for the defence of the town, which was much threatened.

EVERY circumstance that took place I give you on my own authority and that of respectable persons who were present; and I believe the account to be pretty accurate. I have written in a hurry, therefore hope you will be so good as to dress this up, and make what use you please of it.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

T. R.



Letter to the Publisher.

SIR,

HAVING seen many inaccurate accounts of the action sustained on the 5th instant, at Colooney, by a detachment under my command, against the French and rebel army, I think it incumbent on me, in justice to the officers and soldiers, who served so gallantly on that occasion, to give a fair account of the business to the public; which I should have done before; but that I expected my official report would have appeared.

CHARLES VERREKER,

Colonel Limerick City Militia

SLIGO, September 30, 1798.

ABOUT nine o'clock in the morning of the fifth, Captain O'Hara, of the Liney yeomen cavalry, who commanded my advanced picquet at Tubbercurry, reported to me that he had been driven back by the advanced guard of the enemy, after a smart skirmish, in which he had one man killed and another wounded. Shortly after, I learned that a division of the French army had arrived at Colooney, with an intention, as I conceived, of attacking this town, and as I judged it more adviseable to attack them than to wait to be attacked, I marched out with two hundred and fifty of the Limerick city militia, two curriole guns, twenty of the Essex fencible infantry, thirty yeomen infantry, and a troop of the 24th regiment of light dragoons.

BATTLE OF COLOONEY.

ON coming near Colooney, I found the enemy posted on this side of the town, ready to receive me. I accordingly ordered major Ormsby, with one hundred men, to occupy a hill which covered my right, my left being protected by a river. I then moved forward to the enemy, when a very close and severe action commenced, which lasted near an hour and a half; at length, the very superior number of the enemy enabled him to outflank the division on my right, which was compelled to fall back. At that time perceiving the enemy to make a disposition to surround me, and my ammunition being nearly expended, a retreat became absolutely necessary.—From the unfortunate circumstance of one of the gun horses being shot in the act of harnessing, we were obliged to abandon our two field-pieces—but as our ammunition waggon, and the whole of the gun harness were preserved, the guns became useless to the enemy, who, in consequence, left them behind.

OUR loss in this action, (when it is considered that we had the entire of the French and rebel army, with nine pieces of cannon, to contend with) was less than

might have been expected. One officer and six rank and file were killed—five officers and twenty-two rank and file were wounded. On the side of the French, by their own account, above twenty were killed, and about thirty wounded, fourteen of whom very badly, they were brought in here; of these four have since died in the hospital. The number of rebels must have borne a greater proportion, but have not exactly been ascertained.

I HAVE great pleasure in expressing my entire approbation of the conduct of the officers and soldiers on this occasion. To lieutenant-colonel Gough, I have to return my warmest thanks, for the very great zeal and spirit displayed by him—to major Ormsby my thanks are justly due—as also to captain Waller, of the Limerick regiment, who, with his light company, was extremely active. I have, likewise, to express my obligations to captain Slessor, of the Royal Irish artillery, for his conduct in the action, and for his great exertions, under a very heavy fire, to bring off his guns, as well as to captain Whistler, of the 24th light dragoons, who, with great bravery, met the charge of the French cavalry, and obliged them to retreat.

I HAVE great satisfaction to think, that although we were obliged to retreat, the object of the action was attained—namely that of saving this town, as, from the acknowledgment of the French officers, it was their intention to have attacked it but for the check they got, and believing that we would not have gone out to meet them, if not supported in our rear; they therefore changed their direction.

RETURN of the officers killed and wounded of the Limerick city regiment, in the above action.—Colonel Vereker, lieutenant-colonel Gough, major Ormsby, captain Nash, ensign Lindon, slightly wounded. Captain Crips, wounded through the neck and jaws. Ensign Rumley, shot through the body, since dead.

COLONEL VEREKER, previous to his having published the foregoing account, was honoured with a letter from major-general Nugent, expressing his approbation of his conduct, of which the following is an extract.

ENISKILLEN, SEPT. 9th, 1798.

I AM extremely happy to find, on enquiry, that although the Limerick City Regiment has suffered much in the action which they sustained with the French force at Colooney, the officers are, in general, likely to recover from the wounds they received.

I CONGRATULATE you on the gallantry manifested by the whole corps on this occasion, and beg my best compliments may be presented to lieutenant-colonel Gough, and all the officers.

The following letter was written by Mr. W. H. G. to a gentleman in Tyrrell's-pass, who was pleased to enclose it to the Publisher. The Editor has studied, as far as possible, to meet the wishes of those gentlemen who have transmitted the materials for this work, by sometimes recapitulating nearly the same particulars—this being solely his motive, will, he hopes, exculpate him from seeming tautology.

FURTHER RELATION OF THE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE FRENCH.

BALLINA OCTOBER 3, 1798.

My very dear Friend,

I WAS in Dublin the evening the express brought intelligence that the French had landed. I went same day to Naas; it was eleven o'clock at night when I arrived there: you will admit I had a great escape. The army had marched, I followed, and overtook them in Frankford; we marched from

thence to Athlone, where we joined the Commander in chief's grand army destined for Castlebar; we then marched forward, and encamped at a little village called Balmimore; the next evening we lay at Knock, on the side of a mountain; from that we proceeded to Tuam, and there encamped; we were then ordered to join General Taylor's brigade, on their march from Sligo. Our regiment (the Armagh) and the Reay fencibles left Tuam camp (consisting of fourteen thousand brave soldiers,) and marched through Castlerea for Ballaghadareen, where we lay that night; here it was that I met my brother, with the light brigade from Blaris—you may conceive what I felt on the occasion. About two in the morning we marched by Swineford for Castlebar, but the French had given us the slip and went for Sligo; we encamped at Tubbercurry. The French and Lime-rick militia had a skirmish at Colooney; many were killed on both sides; we lost two pieces of cannon;—same evening we lay near Drumahair. Our advanced guard pressed so hard after the French, that they left seven pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition, on the road: the road was dreary and waste, owing to their depredations, the houses being all plundered. Next day we marched upwards of twenty miles, and encamped near Leitrim. They attempted to break one of the bridges down, but the Hessians charged and killed many of them, which forced them to retire—the road was strewn with dead bodies. Near to Cloon they drew up in line of battle, but on our advance they retreated towards Granard. At Ballinamuck they drew up again, and extended their line across a bog, to prevent the cavalry from charging them, and planted their cannon on a hill to the left of the road as it led through the bog; in this order they waited our approach. The light brigade attacked them first; our light company, after a few fires, leaped into their trenches, and dreadful carnage ensued; the French cried for mercy. We ran for four miles before we could get into action.

the men forgot all their troubles and fought like furies. We pursued the rebels through the bog—the country was covered for miles round with their slain. We remained for a few days burying the dead—*hung General Blake and nine of the Longford militia*: we brought an hundred and thirteen prisoners to Carrick on Shannon, *nineteen of whom we executed in one day* and left the remainder with another regiment to *follow our example*, and then marched for Boyle, and from that to Cultimagh near Castlebar; same night we received orders to march for Foxford and relieve that place which had been plundered. On our arrival we fortified the town, casting up barriers across the streets—it was well we used this precaution, for we had no cannon, and the rebels next evening surrounded the town in great force, kept up a smart fire for two hours, then gave way; we remained under arms all night. Next day, being Sunday, we brought the Protestant inhabitants with us, and marched for Killala, where we engaged and defeated the rebels with great slaughter, *making many prisoners whom we hung*. A few days after the battle we scoured the country towards the mountains, and after a march of thirty miles in one day returned home, leaving many dead.

OUR regiment suffered much, being in seventeen engagements. I never suffered so much as on this expedition, from hunger, want of sleep and fatigue; marching forty-eight hours without tasting meat, nature was almost exhausted.

Yours, &c.

W. H. G.

THE following is an extract of a letter which was received by a gentleman after his liberation at Castlebar, where he had been a prisoner during the time it was in possession of the French—it is given in the words of the writer; and is corroborated by the succeeding accounts :

KILLISHANDRA, SEPTEMBER 1798.

My dear Brother,

GOD only knows my grief of mind for your present situation—your being yet alive is a strong argument that the hearts of all men are in the hands of the Most High.

SOME days before the battle of Ballinamuck we were much alarmed here, although we little thought that the French were so near us. The day previous to the battle, our yeomen, horse and foot, Carrickgal-lon and Oakhill men, one hundred and six in number, went to Ballinamuck, on an information that a vast body of rebels were there the day before; yet after traversing the mountains, not a man could be seen—they returned by Ballinalee and Bunlachey. That evening expresses from Ballinamuck informed us that the French were there. The yeomen of that place fled to Ballyconnel and Belturbet. The main body of the French lay in Cloon that night; a Lieutenant West had his horse shot under him, while reconnoitering the enemy, the wounded beast carried his master two miles, when he fell; the helmet was also shot off the Lieutenant's head. The French General and most of the officers agreed to take some rest in Cloon, giving orders that they should not be suffered to sleep but two hours—the guard let them sleep four; by which time the English army came much nearer than the French expected. Such is the Providence of God; for had they got seven miles farther in the county of Longford, it is said they would have been joined by many thousands, who only waited the coming up of the grand army to lead them. This

was the place General Lake's van-guard skirmished with their rear-guard, and from thence to Ballinamuck, four miles from Ballinalee and four miles from Cloon. When the King's army crossed the Shannon, the towns were illuminated for them, and torches held in the streets to give them light. The French being so closely pursued prepared for an unavoidable battle ;—they formed on a hill to very great advantage, having a bog on their left, and a bog and lake on their right.

Five flank companies, viz. the Dublin, Armagh, Monaghan, Tipperary, and Kerry, requested General Lake to let them mount behind the Hessians, Carabineers, and Roxburgh, &c. so ardent were they to overtake the enemy. This request was granted, and they soon came up with the foe ! The above was our whole force in the action, and no men surely could behave more bravely. Seeing the enemy so advantageously posted, wisdom was needful on the part of our General ; a column of our troops faced to the left, and marched behind an eminence, to flank their right wing. Perceiving this, the French retreated to another eminence ; to this our artillery marched in front.—The enemy had their cannon covered with like-men, who were about to take our cannon under cover of their own smoke. General Lake aware of their design, ordered the artillery to retreat to another hill, and finding his men so brave, he ordered them to charge the French through the smoke. This they did ; and with a terrible war-shout so overwhelmed the French, that they threw up their arms with caps on them, yielding themselves prisoners. Here I should observe that the whole of the French army was not at this time engaged ; four hundred and more remained concealed behind the intrenchments, and resolved by treachery to surprise our men, when attacking the rebels : the point was to get them from this hold—a volley or two being fired, our men feigned to retreat. The end was answered ; the French rushed out, and our soldiers as suddenly met them ;—here

the contest was desperate ! In a little time the French fell down, offering up their arms, and as our men advanced to receive them, they treacherously arose and fired on our generous unguarded men, and then fell again on their knees : the enraged troops rushed on, and killed numbers of them before they could be prevented. Thus they overpowered, disarmed, and made prisoners, all the French, before the grand army arrived. The rebels expecting no quarters did all possible harm—fired many cannon-shot, but to no effect ; they fled into a bog, the whole of which was soon surrounded by horse and foot, who never ceased while a rebel was alive ; after which the Marquis marched off with his prisoners.

THERE lay dead about five hundred ; I went next day with many others to see them ; how awful ! to see that healthy mountain covered with dead bodies, resembling at a distance flocks of sheep—for numbers were naked and swelled with the weather. We found fifteen of the Longford militia among the slain. Our loss was twelve—two of which were Hessians, whom the yeomen took for French and fired on.

THE sudden progress of such a handful of men into the very centre of our island, was, I think, a clear comment on the words of Solomon, that “ the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.”

THUS, what six thousand could not do at Castlebar five flank companies and a few cavalry effected at Ballinamuck ! Livy says, in all human affairs, especially war, fortune hath a mighty sway ; and nowhere is the event less answerable to the expectation than in war. Plutarch observes, there was no temple in Rome dedicated to wisdom or valour, but a most magnificent one to fortune ; signifying that they ascribed their success to Providence, not to their courage or conduct. May the loyalists never lose sight of this lesson.

Copy of a letter from Lieut. General Lake to Capt. Taylor, private Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, dated Camp, near Ballinamuck,

SEPTEMBER 8th 1798.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that finding upon my arrival at Ballaghy that the French army had passed that place from Castlebar, I immediately followed them to watch their motions. Lieut. Col. Crawford, who commanded my advanced corps, composed of detachments of Hompesch's and the first fencible cavalry, by great vigilance and activity, hung so close upon their rear, that they could not escape from me, although they drove the country and carried with them all the horses.

AFTER four days and nights most severe marching, my column, consisting of the carabineers, detachments of the 23d light dragoons, the first fencible light dragoons, and the Roxburgh fencible dragoons, under the command of Col. Sir Thomas Chapman, Lieut. Col. Maxwell, Earl of Roden, and Captain Kerr, the 3d battalion of light infantry, the Armagh and part of the Kerry militia, the Reay, Northampton, and Prince of Wales's fencible regiments of infantry, under the command of Lieut. Col. Innes, of the 64th regiment, Lord Viscount Gosford, Earl of Glandore, Major Ross, Lieut. Col. Bulkeley, and Lieut. Col. Macartney, arrived at Cloon about seven this morning, where having received directions to follow the enemy on the same line, whilst his Excellency moved by the lower road to intercept them, I advanced having previously detached the Monaghan light company, mounted behind dragoons to harass their rear.

LIEUT. COL. CRAWFORD on coming up with the French rear-guard, summoned them to surrender; but as they did not attend to his summons he attacked them, upon which upwards of 200 French infan-

try threw down their arms : under the idea that the rest of the corps would do the same thing—Captain Packenham, Lieut. General of ordnance, and Major General Cradock rode up to them.—The enemy, however, instantly commenced a fire of cannon and musquetry which wounded General Cradock upon which I ordered up the third battalion of light infantry, under the command of Lieut. Col. Innes, and commenced the attack upon the enemy's position. The action lasted upwards of half an hour, when the remainder of the column making its appearance, the French surrendered at discretion. The rebels who fled in all directions, suffered severely.

THE conduct of the cavalry was highly conspicuous. The third light battalion, and part of the Armagh militia (the only infantry that were engaged) behaved most gallantly, and deserve my warmest praise. Lieut. Col. Innes's spirit and judgment contributed much to our success.

To Brigadier Gen. Taylor I have to return my most sincere thanks for his great exertions and assistance, particularly on this day—also to Lord Roden, Sir Thomas Chapman, Major Kerr, and Capt. Ferguson, whose example contributed much to animate the troops. I ought not to omit mentioning Lieut. Col. Maxwell, Major Packenham, and Capt. Kerr, whose conduct was equally meritorious—and I feel infinitely thankful to all the commanding officers of corps, who, during so fatiguing a march, encouraged their men to bear it with unremitting perseverance.

To Captain Packenham, Lieut. Col. Clinton (who came to me with orders from Lord Cornwallis) and Major General Cradock, (who joined me in the morning) I am highly indebted for their spirited support; the latter, though early wounded, would not retire from the field during the action.

I ACKNOWLEDGE with gratitude the zeal and activity displayed on all occasions by Lieut. Col. Meade, Major Hardy, assistant Quarter-Master-General, Captains Taylor and Eustace of the engineers, Capt. Nicholson and my other Aid-de-camp.

I CANNOT conclude my letter without expressing how much our success is to be attributed to the spirit and activity of Lieut. Col. Crawford. I beg leave to recommend him as a most deserving officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. LAKE.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the King's forces, at the battle of Ballinamuck, September 8, 1798.

LIEUT. STEPHENS, of the Carabineers, wounded. Three privates killed, twelve wounded, and three missing. Eleven horses killed, one wounded, and eight missing.

ORDNANCE, arms, and ammunition taken. Three light French four-pounders—five ditto, ammunition-waggons, nearly full of made-up ammunition—one ditto, tumbril.—Seven hundred stand of arms, with belts and pouches. With a great number of pikes.

Return of the French Army taken prisoners at the battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8, 1798.

GENERAL and other officers, 96. Non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 748. Horses, about 100.

NINETY-SIX rebels taken—three of them called general officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Feeling.*

THE enemy, in their retreat before the troops under my command, were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in the former actions with his Majesty's forces.

G. LAKE, *Lieut. General.*

* *The two latter since hanged.*

THE French marine minister published the following letter from General Humbert to the Executive Directory, the fallacy of which is too notorious to require refutation.

Lichfield, 2 Vendemiaire, Sept. 25, 1798.

CITIZENS DIRECTORS,

AFTER having obtained the greatest successes, and made the arms of the French Republic to triumph during my stay in Ireland, I have at length been obliged to submit to a superior force of thirty thousand troops, commanded by Lord Cornwallis.

I am a prisoner of war upon my parole.

(Signed)

HUMBERT.

THE bravery of all our soldiery was beyond praise; the Armagh militia, in particular, did not fire a single shot, but rushed upon the enemy with fixed bayonets in such a stile as to astonish the veterans of the army of Italy.

THAT gallant nobleman, Lord Roden, again distinguished himself; his conduct at Clondalken and Vinegar-hill was even outdone by his bravery at Balinamuck:—His horse carried him in a rapid charge into the centre of the enemy, with eight of his troop; this small but spirited body cut their way back to their own friends through the whole French column.

Copy of the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to the Duke of Portland, relative to the defeat of the French.

ST. JOHNSTOWN, COUNTY OF LONGFORD,
9th SEPTEMBER, 1798.

My Lord,

WHEN I wrote to your Grace on the 5th, I had every reason to believe, from the enemy's movement to Drumahare, that it was their intention to march to the North, and it was natural to suppose, that they

might hope that a French force would get into some of the bays in that part of the country, without a succour of which kind every point of direction for their march seemed equally desperate. I received however very early in the morning of the 7th, accounts from General Lake, that they had turned to their right at Drumkerin, and that he had reason to believe that it was their intention to go to Boyle or Carrick on Shannon; in consequence of which, I hastened the march of the troops under my immediate command, in order to arrive before the enemy at Carrick, and directed Major General Moore who was at Tubbercurry, to be prepared in the event of the enemy's movement to Boyle. On my arrival at Carrick I found that the enemy had passed the Shannon at Ballintra, where they had attempted to destroy the bridge, but General Lake followed them so closely, that they were not able to effect it. Under these circumstances, I felt pretty confident, that one more march would bring this disagreeable warfare to a conclusion; and having obtained satisfactory information that the enemy had halted for that night at Cloone, I marched, with the troops at Carrick, at ten o'clock, on the night of the 7th, to Mohill, and directed General Lake to proceed at the same time to Cloone, which is about three miles from Mohill, by which movement I should be able to join with General Lake in the attack of the enemy, if they should remain at Cloone, or to intercept their retreat, if they should, as it was most probable, retire on the approach of our army. On my arrival at Mohill, soon after day-break, I found that the enemy had begun to move towards Granard; I therefore proceeded, with all possible expedition, to this place, through which I was assured, on account of a broken bridge, that the enemy must pass in their way to Granard, and directed General Lake to attack the enemy's rear, and impede their march as much as possible, without bringing the whole of his corps into action. Lieutenant General Lake performed this service with his usual at-

tention and ability, and the enclosed letter, which I have just received from him, will explain the circumstances which produced an immediate surrender of the enemy's army. The copy of my orders, which I enclose, will show how much reason I have to be satisfied with the exertions of the troops, and I request that your Grace will be pleased to inform his Majesty, that I have received the greatest assistance from the General and Staff who have served with the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CORNWALLIS.

His Grace,

The Duke of Portland, &c.

GENERAL ORDERS.

*Head-Quarters, near St. Johnstown,
9th September, 1798.*

LORD CORNWALLIS cannot too much applaud the zeal and spirit which has been manifested by the army, from the commencement of the operations against the invading enemy, until the surrender of the French forces.

THE perseverance with which the soldiers supported the extraordinary marches which were necessary to stop the progress of the very active enemy, does them the greatest credit; and Lord Cornwallis heartily congratulates them on the happy issue of their meritorious exertions.

THE corps of yeomenry, in the whole country through which the army has passed, have rendered the greatest services, and are peculiarly entitled to the acknowledgements of the Lord Lieutenant, for their not having tarnished that courage and loyalty which they displayed in the cause of their King and Country, by any acts of wanton cruelty towards their detested fellow subjects.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

BATTLES,

FOUGHT IN THE COURSE OF THE

INSURRECTION,

IN 1798,

AS RELATED BY JONES.

Battles.	When fought.	Page.
Oulart,	May 27,	216
Enniscorthy,	—28,	218
Tubberneheen,	June 4,	223
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Kilcullen,	—24,	228
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2d battle of Castlebar,	Sep. 12,	304
Granard,	—5,	309
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Colooney,	—5,	319

1870

1. The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the country, from the earliest times to the present day. It is written in a clear and concise style, and is well illustrated with maps and diagrams.

2. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed description of the country, its climate, its soil, its vegetation, its animals, and its minerals. It is written in a clear and concise style, and is well illustrated with maps and diagrams.

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The Editor has been furnished with the following interesting account of the Mission of Arthur O'Connor, Esq. to the French Directory, in December 1797, relative to the invasion of Ireland, by the French.

THE arrest, conviction and imprisonment of Mr. Nelson, the editor of *the Press* (*the only republican paper in Ireland*) not only incapacitated him from attending to its publication, but prevented it from being any longer published in his name. As the affairs of Ireland were now drawing to a crisis, it was of great importance to procure an editor, who enjoyed the confidence of the Irish people—whose integrity and principles were as unquestionable as his talents were eminent. Such an editor was found in Arthur O'Connor. Immediately on consenting to be the ostensible publisher of the Paper, Mr. O'Connor wrote, and in the press of the 30th December, 1797, published an address to the Irish Nation, in which, he acknowledged himself the proprietor of that paper—stated the motives which induced its establishment, and declared that if the freedom of the press was to be destroyed, he would hold it to be a proud destiny to be buried under its ruins.

A FEW days after the publication of this address, it was, by the Executive Committee of the United Irishmen, judged proper to send a Deputy to France, to state to the Executive Directory, the situation of the Irish people—to urge the necessity of an immediate invasion—to settle the number of troops to be landed—the quantity and kinds of warlike stores to be sent, and to pledge the faith of the Irish Nation, to reimburse France the whole of the expence to be incurred. To execute this all-important commission, Arthur O'Connor, at that time a member of the Executive Committee in Ireland, was appointed, and left Ireland for that purpose early in the month of January, 1799. He arrived, without accident or delay, in London.

To procure a conveyance from England to France was, at this juncture, attended with no common difficulties. No packets or vessels of any kind were allowed to sail—the penalty for attempting to go to France, for the most innocent purposes, was six months imprisonment, and there was at this time an embargo on all the vessels in the ports of the French and Batavian Republics. The first object of Mr. O'Connor, on his arrival in London, was to obtain an interview with a person of whose attachment to the cause of the United Irishmen no doubt could be entertained—one upon whose courage, prudence and management he could depend, and in whose integrity and faithfulness he could implicitly confide. He had not been many hours in London, when he was introduced to John Binns, a man who had long enjoyed the confidence of the Irish and English republicans: to him O'Connor frankly acknowledged his intentions, and made known his necessities and difficulties.

FROM the coast of Kent to the opposite shores of France, there has long been carried on a very extensive smuggling trade, and Binns was not without hope that some of the boats employed in that trade, or some of the pilots on the coast might be induced to undertake a trip and land a few passengers in France or Holland. The necessary arrangements for a correspondence being established, John Binns went into Kent. After a fruitless search of some days, he engaged a Pilot of Deal to run over to Boulogne. The object of his journey being accomplished he returned to London, and without delay went to the lodgings of Arthur O'Connor, where, to his astonishment, he learned that Mr. O'Connor, attended by his servant Jeremiah Leary, together with Mr. James Coigley, a Catholic priest, and Mr. John Allen, both persecuted Irishmen, had that morning embarked on board a hoy for Whitstable. Justly apprehensive of the suspicions which might be excited, by the arrival of so many persons, with so much, and such valuable baggage, at an obscure village, Mr. Binns

hastened to the Thames, in the expectation that the hoy had not yet sailed. This expectation was blasted, she had sailed about half an hour before his arrival. He then hired a boat with a view to overtake her; in this expectation he was also disappointed, and left the boat to embark on board a vessel going to Gravesend, where he arrived about noon on Sunday, the 26th day of February, 1798. There he procured a horse and, without delay, proceeded for Canterbury (which place he had left at 8 o'clock the preceding evening.). Early on Monday morning he set out on foot for Whitstable, a distance of about five miles; on his way he had the good fortune to meet O'Connor, who was going to Canterbury in search of Binns. After acquainting each other with the events which had happened since they parted, they concluded, to go to Deal, make final arrangements for the departure of O'Connor, &c. and from thence to go to Margate, whither Coigley and the others had been instructed to proceed with the baggage.

IN pursuance of this plan, O'Connor and Binns went from Canterbury to Deal, and from thence to the King's head tavern Margate, where they found Coigley, Allen and Leary, and the baggage. Mr. Coigley was informed that, at Whitstable, some suspicions had been excited by their baggage, and that it had been in part examined, by the officers of the revenue. The sequel proved that more suspicion had been excited than Mr. Coigley was aware of.

EARLY the next morning the tavern, in which they lodged, was filled and surrounded by armed men, and the party who had landed at Whitstable and John Binns were arrested, by persons dispatched from London, on the information of the revenue officers at Whitstable. They were all searched with brutal minuteness which set delicacy at defiance. Every atom of paper, and every article of value, was taken from them: guards were placed over them, not only to prevent their escape, but to prevent their speaking together. The same night they were removed in se-

parate postchaises, under a strong guard of Light Horse, to Canterbury. The next morning they were removed in the same manner to London, where they arrived on the evening of the 1st of March, 1798.

AFTER undergoing an examination at the Public Office, Bow Street. They were all committed to different prisons, from whence they were removed to the houses of King's messengers, and after being repeatedly before the Lords of the Privy Council, Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, James Coigley and John Allen were sent close prisoners to the Tower of London, and Jeremiah Leary was committed to another prison in the Metropolis, all charged with the crime of High Treason. They were afterwards removed to Maidstone, the county town of Kent, and there on the 21st, 22d, and 23d, of May, in the same year, tried for High Treason. Arthur O'Connor, Binns, Allen and Leary were acquitted, but James Coigley was convicted, sentenced and executed.

COIGLEY was a man of learning and talents, of great benevolence of heart, and of integrity so unshakable that he rejected with scorn, an offer made him, by Government, of his liberty and a considerable reward, if he would give evidence so as to convict O'Connor and Binns. He died with the heroic firmness of a Philosopher, and the manly resignation of a Christian. Coigley *perished*, but the cause for which he died shall live when time shall be no more !

We were induced to this brief sketch of an affair which took place in England, from its close connexion with the cause of the United Irishmen, and from the important, but very unfortunate consequences which followed.

PAPERS found in the baggage of Mr. O'Connor determined the British Government to send, by express, dispatches to Ireland directing the arrest of several influential United Irishmen, among others of the amiable, the intrepid & well-beloved lord Edward Fitzgerald. In a word the arrest of Mr. O'Connor, and the seizure

of his papers, was one of the first of a series of events which provoked the *premature* insurrection and overthrow of the republican party in Ireland.

It may not be improper further to mention, that from Maidstone Mr. O'Connor was sent under a guard to Ireland to prison, from thence with the other state prisoners he was sent to Fort St. George in Scotland; and not liberated until the peace of Amiens.

INSURRECTION

OF 1803,

CONDUCTED BY

ROBERT EMMETT, Esq.

From a London paper of July 28th, 1803.

IT is with the deepest concern we have to submit to the public details of acts as barbarous and atrocious, as the most of those which were perpetrated during the late Insurrection in Ireland. Dispatches were yesterday received by government from the Lord Lieutenant, stating the revival of the spirit of rebellion in Dublin, marked with circumstances no less tragical than they were unexpected. In the beginning of last week it was observed, that many strangers arrived in Dublin from the country, but no apprehension arose, nor was any notice taken. Suddenly on Saturday evening, however, about 8 o'clock, a large mob assembled in Thomas street, in the liberties, armed with pikes and fire-arms, stopped the carriage of lord Kilwarden, who was returning from his country seat, accompanied by his nephew the Rev. Richard Wolfe, dragged his lordship and his nephew out, and assassinated them in the street, by stabbing them with pikes. The confusion that ensued is more easily to be conceived than described. General consternation and terror immediately pervaded the whole of the city, the drums beat to arms, the military were called out; but in the mean time the perpetrators of the horrid deed disappeared, and every effort to apprehend them, we are sorry to say, has hitherto proved

ineffectual. On the same night the mail guard was attacked between Dublin and Naas, and in consequence of the resistance that was made, two dragoons are stated to have been killed. On the same evening a pistol was fired at Mr. Clarke, foreman of the grand jury of Dublin, by which he received a severe wound. He had the day before, carried an address to the Lord Lieutenant, expressive of the determination of the city of Dublin to support his majesty in the contest in which we are engaged. Col. Browne of the 21st foot, and several private soldiers, are said also to have been killed by the mob. Every measure calculated to ensure the safety of the city, was that night carried into effect, but such was the daring spirit of the insurgents, or rather the assassins, that on Sunday a magistrate of the city of Dublin walking with a gentleman on Ormond Quay was fired at, and both he and the gentleman were wounded.

THE circumstances of these atrocious acts, particularly the assassination of Lord Kilwarden, are no less extraordinary and unaccountable than horrid and detestable. His Lordship was certainly obnoxious to the rebels, and must have had enemies amongst the disaffected. He was not, however, a leading political character; then why should he have been singled out as the first victim? Could private malice have been the motive? And how could the sacrifice of such a man have tended in a particular manner to promote the views of the discontented? It is the opinion of some, that the object of this enormity was, by an act of eclat, to hold out to France a sort of pledge that the people of Ireland were ripe for insurrection, and ready to welcome the aid of our enemies. Any other public man of consequence, it is thought, who might have fallen in the way, would have suffered the fate of Lord Kilwarden.

By the proclamation which has been published on this melancholy subject, it is evident that the *Irish government* view those sanguinary outrages as the commencement of the rebellious conspiracy against

the state : and that part of the United Kingdom is, *in consequence, to be placed immediately under the martial law.*—Orders have already been given to the several generals of districts to employ the troops under their command in the most speedy and effectual manner for the suppression of all rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices, to disarm all rebels, and seize all arms and ammunition that may be found in the custody of persons not duly authorised by law to keep them. This proceeding is alike wise and necessary, and will we trust, be the means of effectually frustrating the designs of the disaffected. The principles by which those deluded wretches are now actuated, it is somewhat difficult to discover. The lower order of the Irish, it is true, are as ignorant as they are distressed; and that it is not improbable that the missionaries of France, have, of late, been very industrious in fanning the flame of rebellion, which unhappily was not extinguished in the late subjugation of the insurgents. But what any description of Irishmen can promise themselves from a connexion with France at the present moment, we are totally at a loss to conjecture, upon any principle of reason, policy or justice. In no point of view whatever, can Ireland hope for any improvement from such a connexion, which on the contrary would deprive it of all the advantages of rational freedom, and in return for the enviable *enjoyments of the British constitution*, render it the abject and insulted slave of an enemy, whose boasted protection is the most cruel oppression, whose object is universal devastation and plunder, and whose ambition is only to be satiated with the overthrow of every system that does not accord with his own selfish and tyrannical propensities.

Extract of a letter from Liverpool,
dated July 27, 1803.

"I AM sorry to be the bearer of most painful news from Dublin, from which place I am but just arrived. That city has experienced another dreadful rebellion. On Saturday last a vast mob, filled with savage ferocity, and evidently acting under a deep laid and desperate concerted plan, assembled in and about Thomas street, and began by demanding a pass-word from every passenger in the street, having first placed planks stuck with very large nails, to prevent any opposition from the cavalry. In a very short time after, Lord Kilwarden and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, passing by on his return from his country seat, near Naas, in the county of Kildare, and being unable to answer the pass-word of this desperate banditti, was dragged from his carriage into the open street and was immediately stabbed. He expired in a few moments. In a very short period, no less than forty other persons, all males, experienced the same fate. By great exertions, on the part of some troops of horse, the rebels, consisting of at least four thousand, were attacked with great fury, and after the loss of about thirty regular, and many among the rebels, they were completely subdued.

"A GREAT number of the principal rebels were secured, and thirty were to be executed."

"By the activity of the military, and exertions of the magistrates, immediately after the conclusion of this unfortunate affair, no less than 30,000 pikes, & rebel uniforms for 10,000 men, were discovered & seized."

ON Monday morning, when Mr. Marryan the messenger who brought the dispatches yesterday, set off, it was as tranquil as could be expected, and the military had complete possession of every part of the town. Military guards were placed on all the bridges, and at all the avenues leading from the town. A person could not move out of the town without military inspection and protection. On Sunday afternoon

there was reason to apprehend the rebels would make another effort, but the military were all on the alert and the yeomenry turned out with so much spirit, and in such numbers, that it is supposed the rebels saw any attempt would be vain. There is no doubt, however, that Dublin is full of rebels, and we may look for very unpleasant intelligence both from that city and the provinces.—The insurrection cannot be considered as concluded; but the first burst of it has been so completely checked, that we are in hopes nothing very serious will follow.

The following is said to be the real speech of Robert Emmett, before judgment was pronounced on him, sent to America by a friend, "as the only country in which "the virtuous living can find a refuge, or truth find a "certain passage to posterity through a free press."

Another speech was published in America, attributed to Robert Emmett, in which he appeared strongly opposed to the invasion of Ireland by the French. There is no other criterion by which it can be decided which is the genuine one, but what may result from a knowledge of his general character, and the spirit and tone of his enterprize.

MY LORDS,

WHAT have I to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me, according to law? I have nothing to say, that can alter your predeterminations, nor that it will become me to say, with any view to the mitigation of that sentence which you are here to pronounce, and I must abide by. But I have that to say, which interests me more than life, and which you have labored (as was necessarily your office in the present circumstances of this oppressed country) to destroy.—I have much to say, why my reputation should be rescued from the load of false accusation and calumny which have been heaped upon it. I do not imagine, that seated where you are,

your minds can be so free from impurity, as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter—I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammelled as this is—I only wish, and it is the utmost I expect, that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories, untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbor to shelter it from the storm by which it is at present buffeted. Was I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by *your* tribunal—I should bow in silence, and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur—but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner, will, through the ministry of that law, labor in its own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy—for there must be guilt somewhere; whether in the sentence of the court, or in the catastrophe, posterity must determine. A man in my situation, my lords, has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice: the man dies, but his memory lives—that mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port; when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in defence of their country and of virtue, this is my hope, I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me, while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government, which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the most high—which displays its power over man as over the beast of the forest—which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hand in the name of God against the throat of his fellow who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard—a government which

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is steeled to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows which it has made——

[Here lord Norbury interrupted Mr. Emmett, saying, that the mean and wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did, were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs]

——I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me—that my conduct has been through all this peril, and through all my purposes, governed only by the convictions which I have uttered, and by no other view, than that of their cure, and the emancipation of my country from the super-inhuman oppression under which she has so long and too patiently travailed; and that I confidently and assuredly hope that wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest enterprize—of this I speak with the confidence of intimate knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think not my Lord, I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness; a man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity by asserting falsehood on a subject so important to his country and on an occasion like this. Yes my Lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written, until his country is liberated, will not have a weapon in the power of envy to impeach the probity which he means to preserve, even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him.

[Here he was again interrupted by the court.]

AGAIN I say, that what I have spoken, was not intended for your lordship, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy—my expressions were for my countrymen; if there is a true Irishman present let my last words cheer him in the hour of his affliction.——

[He was again interrupted, Lord Norbury said he did not sit there to hear treason.]

I HAVE always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law ; I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience, and to speak with humanity ; to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer with tender benignity his opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime, of which he had been found guilty : that a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt—but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions, where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice ; if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy and not justice, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated.

My Lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice, to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold ; but worse to me than the purposed shame, or the scaffold's terrors, would be the same endurance of charges and imputations laid against me in this court : you my Lord, are a judge, I am the supposed culprit ; I am a man, you are a man also ; by a revolution of power, we might change places—though we never could change characters ; if I stand at the bar of this court, and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice ! If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it ? Does the sentence of death which your policy inflicts on my body, also condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach ; your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist, I shall not cease to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions, and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honor and love, and for whom I am proud to perish.

As men, my Lord, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the searcher of all hearts to shew a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or attached by the purest motives.

[Here he was interrupted and told to listen to the sentence of the law.]

MY Lord, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself, in the eyes of the community of an undeserved reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with ambition, and attempting to cast away for a paltry consideration the liberties of his country! Why did your lordship insult me? or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me why sentence of death should not be pronounced? I know my Lord that form prescribes that you should ask the question, the form also presumes a right of answering! This no doubt may be dispensed with—and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the castle before your jury was impaneled; your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I submit; but I insist on the whole of the forms.

[Here the court desired him to proceed.]

I AM charged with being an emissary of France! An emissary of France! And for what end? It is alleged that I wished to sell the independence of my country! And for what end? Was this the object of my ambition? And is this the mode by which a tribunal of justice reconciles contradictions? No, I am no emissary—and my ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of my country, not in power, nor in profit, but in the glory of the achievement! Sell my country's independence to France! And for what? Was it for a change of masters? No! But for ambition! O my country, was it personal ambition that could influence me, had it been the soul of my actions, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family have placed myself amongst the proudest of my

opposers? My country was my idol; to it I sacrifice every selfish, every endearing sentiment; and for it I now offer up my life. O God! No, my Lord, I acted as an Irishman determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyranny, and from the more galling yoke of a domestic faction, which it is joint partner and perpetrator in the patricide for the ignominy of existing with an exterior of splendor and a conscious depravity. It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly riveted despotism:

I WISHED to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth; I wished to exalt you to that proud station in the world.

CONNEXION with France was indeed intended—but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require; were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction; we sought aid and we sought it as we had assurances we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war, and allies in peace.

WERE the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people; I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes, my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them on the beach, with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other—I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war, and I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats, before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last entrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious that life, any more than death, is unprofitable, when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection.

BUT it was not as an enemy that the succours of France were to land;—I looked indeed for the assistance of France; but I wished to prove to France and to the world, that Irishmen deserved to be assisted! that they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country.

I WISHED to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America. To procure an aid which by its example would be as important as its valour, disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and with experience; who would perceive the good and polish the rough points of our character; they would come to us as strangers and leave us as friends, after sharing in our perils and elevating our destiny—these were my objects, not to receive new task-masters, but to expel old tyrants—these were my views—and these only became Irishmen. I know your most implacable enemies are in the bosom of your country!

I HAVE been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the *key-stone* of the combination of Irishmen, or as your lordship expressed it, “the life and blood of the conspiracy.” You do me honor over much: you have given to the subaltern all the credit of a superior; there are men engaged in this *conspiracy*, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself my lord; men before the splendor of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and who would think themselves dishonored to be called your friend, who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood stained hand——

[*Here he was interrupted.*]

WHAT my lord, shall you tell me, on the passage to that scaffold, which that tyranny of which you are only the intermediary executioner has erected for my murder, that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppress-

ed against the oppressor, shall you tell me this—and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it?

I do not fear to approach the omnipotent Judge—to answer for the conduct of my whole life, and am I to be appaled and falsified by a mere remnant of mortality here; by you too, who, if it were possible to collect all the innocent blood that you have shed in your unhallowed ministry, in one great reservoir; your lordship might swim in it.

[*Here the judge interfered.*]

LET no man, dare when I am dead, to charge me with dishonor—let no man attain my memory by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but of my country's liberty and independence—or that I could have become the pliant minion of power in the oppression of the miseries of my countrymen; the proclamation of the provisional government, speaks for our views; no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement at home, or subjection or humiliation or treachery from abroad—I would not have submitted to a foreign oppressor, for the same reason that I would resist the foreign and domestic oppressor; in the dignity of freedom I would have fought upon the threshold of my country, and its enemy should enter only by passing over my lifeless corpse. And who lived but for my country, and who have subjected myself to the dangers of the jealous, and watchful oppressor and the bondage of the grave, only to give my countrymen their rights and my country her independence, and I am to be loaded with calumny, and not suffered to resent, and repel it—No, God forbid!

IF the spirits of the illustrious dead participates in the concerns and cares of those who were dear to them in this transitory life—O ever dear and venerated shade of my departed father, look down with scrutiny upon the conduct of your suffering son: and see if I have even for a moment deviated from those principles of morality and patriotism which it was your

care to instil into my youthful mind ; and for which I am now to offer up my life.

My Lords—You are impatient for the sacrifice—the blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim, it circulates warmly and unruffled through the channels which God created for noble purposes, but which you are bent to destroy, for purposes so grievous, that they cry to heaven——be ye patient ! I have but a few words more to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave : my lamp of life is nearly extinguished : my race is run : the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom ! I have but one request to make at my departure from this world, it is the charity of its silence !——Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dare *now* vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times, and other men, can do justice to my character ;—when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then—and not till then—let my epitaph be written—I have done.

AN
INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES
OF

Popular Discontents
IN IRELAND.

BY A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

INTRODUCTION.

" See nations slowly wise, and meanly just."

JOHNSON.

THE best way to remedy any evil is to remove its cause ; it is often a fruitless, and always a laborious undertaking, to combat with its effects.

WE hear much of the effects of rebellions in Ireland, but very little of their causes; the material question, why these things are so, has been entirely disregarded ; and what has been the consequence ? Though government has been armed with all latitude of power ; though it has not been crippled by the want of means, has not been embarrassed by restrictions, has not been stayed by responsibility ; though punishment has been urged almost to ruin, though blood has flowed profusely ; still life is miserable in apprehension, still property is poor in security, the government is supported only by terror, and this so imperfectly, that the moment an enthusiastic leader is found, a rebellion is organized. Under such cir-

cumstances, there is no great presumption in planning a better system of administration, for nothing can be worse than the present : let it be grounded on an inquiry into the causes, into *all* the causes of discontent in Ireland ; let us not rest satisfied with adopting any single cause, which has become a sort of favourite. There is ever some prejudice, or some interest, which makes the whole truth unpalatable to the mass of mankind, and perhaps means may be found for securing public tranquillity, equally prompt, and more congenial to the common feelings of humanity, than the double agency of martial and civil law, which in their competition to save the body, seem likely to lop off all the members.

BUT first, it will be useful to show, what are not the causes of rebellion, though often considered as such.

It springs from no accidental cause ; it is not the sudden ebullition of individual enthusiasm or popular rage. Secondly, the rebellious spirit of the Irish does not arise from any inherent and insuperable bias in the national character ; the Irish are not *naturally* rebels.

WE shall have no doubt of this, if we reflect, that though the character of the upper ranks may be formed by education and literature, the character of the lower ranks is uniformly such as it is made by laws and government.

WEALTH, education, leisure, are the sources of experiment and change ; the adversaries of all novelty, whether useful or not, are found in labour, ignorance, and poverty.

AN equal reason why the Irish peasantry, *ceteris paribus*, should not be rebels, is their religion.

THE Roman Catholic religion, in every other country, has been found the strongest support of arbitrary power. The subjection to the priesthood, the religious terrors, and the self-abasement which form its prominent tenets, are admirably adapted to subdue the mind, and fit it to the yoke of civil tyranny. Since the first rise of the papal authority (a long and a busy

period) Ireland presents the only instance where this religion, existing in its full force, has been found leagued with resistance to the civil power, and inculcating, at the same time, the dogmas of religious superstition, and the principles of democratical enthusiasm. No stronger proof can be required, that there is some injudicious system acted upon in Ireland, which forces the order of events from their natural course, and gives to the most important motives that act on national character a bias, directly the reverse to what they have exhibited in all ages, and in every other country.

If, then, the causes of the rebellious spirit in Ireland are neither accidental, nor referrible to any natural disposition of the nation, independent of the common effects of laws and government.

THE next step is to show in what they do exist. The following appear to me to be the principal topics, that ought to be well considered, if any sincere effort be made to restore the tranquillity of Ireland.

1. THE recollection, which exists in Ireland, of being a conquered people.
2. THE great confiscations of private property.
3. THE distinctions between the Protestants and Roman Catholics.
4. THE distinctions between the members of the Church of England, the Protestants and Presbyterians.
5. TITHES.
6. THE degraded state of the peasantry.
7. THE influence of a Republican party.
8. THE Union.

FIRST CAUSE.

The recollection of the Conquest of Ireland by the English.

AFTER the conquest of a country, there are but three methods of preventing the constant recurrence of civil commotions. First, either to restore the conquered their liberty and independence, for which history has no example ; or for the conquerors to embody themselves, and have one common government and interest with the conquered, as the Tartars have done in China, and the Normans in England ; or, lastly, to extirpate the conquered with fire and sword, for which history has many examples. The English did not adopt precisely any one of these plans, but pursued that unwise system of government, which leaves the conquered sufficient toleration to acquire force, yet not enough to disarm animosity.

So far from seeking to blend all distinctions between the race of the conquerors and conquered, it became a part of national pride and personal vanity, not to suffer them to mingle. Intermarriages were forbidden ; oppression was thought no crime, because it was very little exposed to retaliation ; contempt became the sentiment, and contumely the expression to which a nation too easily conquered is always exposed. Moral justice between men and men is only generated by the power which each has of enforcing it ; where the power is weak, the sentiment is feeble ; where the first does not exist, the latter is extinguished. We dispose of the lives of brutes, and the liberty of negroes, with very little compunction ; it was in the same spirit, that it was *lawful* to kill a *wild Irishman* ; and that neither his property, nor his person, was thought worthy of the protection of the common law.

ANY one may readily conceive, under these circumstances, that the hatred of the Irish Protestants, and the English, still exist among the native Irish, but few are aware of it's extent. One great proof of

it is, the little progress the English language has made. Travellers generally pass through the wealthiest parts of the country, and the towns where the English have successively settled, and imagine that the language is universal. But in all the north-west and south-west counties, the English language is scarcely known. In the county of Meath, which borders immediately upon the metropolis, a justice of peace must understand Irish, or keep an interpreter; and even where the parties understand English, they pertinaciously adhere to the language the idioms of which they best understand; and say proverbially, "When you plead for your life, plead in Irish." There is no Irish gentleman who cannot witness the extreme repugnance with which all English stewards, English customs, and English improvements are regarded by the common Irish; and whenever I have heard them speak among themselves of the English, it has always been in terms of the strongest aversion.

SECOND CAUSE.

The confiscations of Property that have taken place in Ireland.

WHERE confiscations of property have often taken place, industry will have little enterprise; and though a few may be enriched by legal pillage, the mass of the people will remain poor and dispirited. Considering a country merely as a source of revenue, it is much wiser to levy a contribution on the profits of industry, than to seize on the capital which supports it. Thus in the late revolution in France, the plundering spirit of its different dictators disappointed itself. Setting up a right to place all the wealth of the country in requisition, they destroyed the sources of national wealth, and found themselves much more distressed for money, than if they had levied a sum one thousand times greater by the equal and regulated mode of taxation.

BUT in addition to the decline of national wealth, another evil of equal importance is sure to arise from general confiscations, by laying the foundation of civil commotions.

THE Irish Roman Catholics seem never to have lost sight of the hopes of recovering their ancient possessions, nor ever to have abated their resentment to the party who despoiled them.

IT is now too late to propose the plain remedy for the evils of confiscation in Ireland, restitution. This property has now been so long vested in the present proprietors, that the interests of justice and utility would be more offended by dispossessing them, than they would be advanced by reinstating the lawful owners. In all codes of law, it is found necessary to fix a term of prescription, which is paramount even to the rights of lineal descent.

YET much, if not every thing, might be effected by removing all religious distinctions.

IT is evident that the recollection of these rights has been very much perpetuated by the claimants being firmly united in a religious sect, and by their still considering the descendants of the original spoilers as their enemies.

TERRIBLE as the consequences of confiscation always are, they may be very much assuaged, and in the end entirely obliterated, if no continuance of injuries, if no civil disqualifications unite the sufferers into a corporate capacity, and perpetuate the memory of the original breach of justice.

BONAPARTE is entitled at least to this praise, that he has afforded the returned emigrants no means of becoming a party distinct from the rest of their fellow-citizens.

So would it have been with the Irish Roman Catholics, if an equal participation of the rights and privileges of their countrymen had gradually compelled them to sink the differences of sectarians in the common interests of Irishmen.

THIRD CAUSE.

The distinctions created by Government in favour of the Irish Protestants, to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics.

WHEN the English seized upon the property of the native Irish, prudence required them either to exterminate the men they had injured, or if they suffered them to live, to try to efface the recollection of their wrongs by good usage, a forbearance of injurious distinctions, an equal enjoyment of civil rights and privileges, religious toleration, and all those common participations which would gradually have weakened the distinction between the plunderers and the pillaged.

To any one of common sense or feeling, it will be sufficient merely to mention the principal penal acts that have been repealed.

CATHOLICS were made subject to a premunier, to a penalty on not resorting to the Protestant churches; any one was at liberty to burn their mass houses; their priests were not tolerated, and in the reign of George the First, an act passed the Irish Parliament to castrate every priest found in that kingdom: even in more tolerant times the priests were obliged to resort to foreign countries for their education. Roman Catholics were not permitted to have schools for their children, nor could they appoint guardians for them; they were deprived of any testamentary power, and their property subjected to the law of gavelkind, in hopes of reducing the whole sect to poverty; they could not lend money on security; they could not purchase lands, and by the celebrated act called the Bill of Discovery, if one of their children turned Protestant, he might dispossess the father of his property. Roman Catholics could not intermarry with Protestants, they were excluded from all civil offices; they could neither vote for a representative, nor could they sit themselves in Parliament. Thus as Creatures of the Divinity, as Fathers, as Men, and as Citizens,

they were on all sides persecuted, outraged, insulted and enslaved, by the most flagrant and stupid penal code that ever triumphed over common sense and humanity.

THE Roman Catholics cannot sit in Parliament ; they cannot hold any office under the Crown ; they have all the burden of supporting their own clergy, while they are obliged to contribute an equal share with the Protestants to the support of the Protestant clergy ; their clergy are not paid by government, neither have they any voice in the legislature, whilst the Protestant clergy enjoy very high emoluments, their bishops and archbishops have splendid incomes, and a seat in the House of Lords.

INJURIES are grievous, more in proportion to the sensibility of those whom they affect, than their own intrinsic weight. As civilization advances, the sense of injury becomes more delicate and refined. Homer's heroes could patiently receive the lie ; now a man could not honourably support life till such an insult was effaced, though at the risk of life itself.

THE most cruel persecution would have been more bearable in the reign of Elizabeth, than the slightest religious disqualification is now.

FOR this reason, grievances ought never to be removed by halves. For by removing a part, the minds of the aggrieved only acquire more self consequence, and become more susceptible to the grievances which remain. A partial removal of grievance, is like opening a window to a prisoner's dungeon ; it is like throwing light upon his bolts and chains. The present distinctions which now affect the Roman Catholics are insults rather than injuries. But let it never be forgotten, that in the present state of civilization, insults are far more grievous than injuries. When a government stupidly affixes them to large bodies of men, the social passion agitates, enlarges and dignifies resentment, and makes things of smallest moment the hinge on which the fate of empire and society depends. But when a government loses all sense,

and ventures to insult a sect; when it arrays against itself not only the exaggerated feelings of the social passion, but also of religious enthusiasm; when it makes rebellion appear not only generous, but sacred, can we wonder that opinion, it's firmest and most respectable support, proves visionary, and all it's authority rests upon the odious, the disgraceful assistance of the halter and the sword.

BUT are pains and penalties, are civil distinctions, the best means to prevent the growth of a sect? If the Irish Roman Catholics have become numerous and powerful under the celebrated statutes of Queen Ann, if all the powers of bribery failed in gaining one convert from the most corrupt, fear from the most timid, political disgrace from the most ambitious of the Roman Catholics, we may judge of the experiment from the event, and rest satisfied that the severe and disqualifying system is radically wrong.

ONE body of men can never keep themselves much or long separated from the rest, unless government affords them more durable insignia than mere names and opinions, by marking them with some injudicious distinction. Trade, literature, family connections, public and private interests, powerfully contribute to blend the whole mass of society; and after the novelty of a new sect has ceased, if there be no difficulty to be overcome, no opposition to be encountered, no injuries to be endured; if there be neither glory, exertion, nor resentment to keep enthusiasm alive; there remains nothing to prevent the common character of the citizen from overpowering the assumed distinctive character of the sectarian.

BUT in order to make religious enthusiasm eternal, give it only the smallest distinction to form a bond of union among it's adherents, and the social passion instantly unites them into a party, feeling a separate and adverse interest from the rest of the nation.

FOR this purpose, it is not necessary that they should be persecuted; the slightest distinction which is laid on them by government will be sufficient. Pass

but a law, that the Methodists shall wear red capes to their coats, and it is a chance but in ten years they overturn the government.

No other rasoning will account for the following very singular circumstance :—Most of the young men of property, who adhere to the Roman Catholics in Ireland, are, in fact, Deists; and yet they submit to all the privations attached to the profession of the Catholic religion; feel a common interest with it, and make a common cause against the government that continues to deprive the Catholics of their rights.

IN whatever light, then, we consider the discontents of the Irish Roman Catholics, the same great rule of remedial wisdom constantly recurs. To obliterate the recollection of conquerors and conquered, remove all civil and religious distinctions; to obliterate the recollection of plunderers and pillaged, remove all civil and religious distinctions; to remove the hatred of the Catholics to the Protestants, and to extinguish for ever their discontents and their rebellions, remove all civil and religious distinctions.

I HAVE heard of an obstacle to the redress of their religious grievances, which is rather improbable and not very important. It has been said, that the Catholic priests, at the instigation of the Pope, refuse to receive a salary. It seems very unlikely that the Pope should have so much influence, or the priests so much disinterestedness; for it is still a custom with many Protestant gentlemen, and formerly was with most, to allow the priest of the parish a small salary, and no scruples were ever made about accepting it.

FOURTH CAUSE.

Religious distinctions between the Presbyterians and the Protestants.

HUME, in his history of England, defends an establishment as necessary to bribe the indolence of the

clergy, and reduce religious enthusiasm to that degree of temper, which is consistent with the peaceable management of the things of this world. But if we give these honied cates to only one head of the Cerberus, it will increase the fury of the rest ; feed them all, and we may go quietly to Heaven above, or the shades below, in our own way.

THE Presbyterians in Ireland lately succeeded in procuring a repeal of the Test act ; but it had continued sufficiently long to make them feel the separate interests of a sect. That they still continue to feel them is very evident, and sufficiently proves, that in order to weaken the force of a sect, you do nothing unless you remove *every* distinction.

It is not generally understood in England how formidable the body of Presbyterians is in Ireland, and how active a part it took in the late rebellion. The six northern counties are almost entirely composed of this class of men ; they are much more industrious, more wealthy, and more intelligent than the Roman Catholics. They very early adopted the principle of a reform in parliament ; and had that salutary measure been granted to the wishes of the people, there never would have been a rebellion in Ireland. In fact, the Presbyterians were the real strength of the late rebellion. The Catholics, like all very oppressed sects, are timid and ignorant, and were quite unequal to the conception or execution of a plan so daring and complicated. The Catholics accidentally got the start of the Presbyterians, and hence the failure of the rebellion. The moment the Catholics acquired force, the Presbyterians took the alarm ; the old jealousy and hatred of the Puritans to the Catholics revived in all its force in the breasts of their descendants ; the counties in the North of Ireland, though organized for rebellion, remained quiet on the first notice of the successes of the Catholic rebels ; and in consequence, the government had leisure to direct its forces against the immediate danger ; and all the odium of the rebellion fell upon the Catholics.

THE six northern counties of Ireland are so very differently circumstanced from the rest, that they very well deserve a separate consideration, if there be really any intentions of restoring the tranquillity of the country.

THE Roman Catholics rebel only from negative reasons—that they may not be insulted and oppressed. It was the Presbyterian sect that was the organ of positive rebellion, and sought to effect a reform in the government of the country.

THERE appear to have been two causes of discontent among the Dissenters—the distinction preserved between them and the Protestants, and the wish for a reform in parliament, in order to counteract the pernicious effects of English influence. The only distinction between the Presbyterians and the Protestants is, that the clergy of the former are not paid, while they are forced to contribute to the payment of the clergy of the latter.

How far the Union has been considered by the Presbyterians as a substitute for a reform in parliament, to which they are so enthusiastically attached, will be examined in another place; it is sufficient at present to point out their great political importance, and earnestly to recommend that government should not lightly disclaim all compromise with a sect, which is the most enlightened, proud, and, in moral force, the most important body of men in Ireland.

FIFTH CAUSE.

Tithes.

If tithes be found a grievance in England, how much more must their weight be felt in Ireland?

IN England, generally speaking, land is in the hands of opulent men, who, if they feel the pressure of tithes, feel it only as a comparative evil; they would be richer if free from them.

BUT in Ireland, where a very great proportion of the land is let at rack rents to small farmers and day

labourers, the tithe very frequently deprives them of the portion, which is required to complete the sum necessary to their very existence.

BUT the apologists for tithes generally answer, first, that tithes are not so very oppressive as they are represented; secondly, that there is great difficulty in getting rid of them. It is said, that the tenant does not, in fact, pay the tithes; for in making his bargain, he has his land proportionably cheaper. Nothing can be more false than this reasoning; for, if pushed to it's full extent, it would follow, that the idle only pay taxes.

BUT no one has any doubt of the great national disadvantages of tithes, as an *ad valorem* tax, falling heaviest on *increasing* industry.

HOWEVER, it is for the English to examine the policy of tithes; in Ireland they will not even bear the question of their justice. Surely, without calling on our heads the anathemas of the anti-jacobin sect, who are so unconscious of humanity themselves, that they think it must be affectation in every one else; surely we may lament the fate of the Irish peasantry.

THEIR religious affections, granting them mistaken, lead them to economise, even under the constant pressure of scarcity, to support the pastor they revere, and give him the means of a certain, though scarcely decent livelihood. They submit to a voluntary tax, that the old and infirm part of their Sunday congregation may have a mass-house to shelter them from the weather; the great crowd, the young, and those that come late, kneel without doors.

ARE these men supposed to have no sense of justice, that in addition to the burden of supporting their own establishment exclusively, they should be called on to pay ours; that where they pay sixpence to their own priest, they should pay a pound to our clergyman; that while they can scarcely afford their own horse, they should place ours in his carriage; that when they cannot build a mass-house to cover their

multitudes, they should be forced to contribute to build sumptuous churches for half a dozen Protestants to pray under shelter?

SIXTH CAUSE.

The degraded state of the Peasantry.

I CONSIDER the degraded and unprotected state of the Irish peasantry as one of the most powerful causes of rebellion in Ireland, and the most difficult to remedy.

It has not been unusual in Ireland for great landed proprietors to have regular prisons in their houses for the summary punishment of the lower orders. Indictments preferred against gentlemen, for similar exercises of power beyond law, are always thrown out by the grand juries. To horsewhip, or beat a servant, or labourer, is a frequent mode of correction.

SUFFICIENT proof of this habitual system of ill usage may be collected from the singular fact, that the majority of the peasantry enrolled themselves as united Irishmen, from the apprehension of being massacred by the Orangemen, who were composed of the landed proprietors of the different counties. Before the rebellion commenced, emissaries were dispatched by designing men through all parts of the country, mentioning the very week on which the supposed massacres were to take place; and it is a notorious fact, that these reports were universally believed; that the Roman Catholic peasantry left their houses and fled to the mountains; and that many of the poor wretches died from cold and hunger, sooner than trust to the chance of Protestant clemency.

AN acquaintance of mine possessed of a very large landed property, who has, in a high degree that natural affability and politeness which marks the Irish; who gives his tenants plenty of leisure to pay their rents; who is the father of a little army of labourers that he keeps in constant employment; whose house

is a kind of hospital, where all the sick in the neighbourhood send for medicines and wine ; in his courtyard the poor of the parish, and the wandering beggar, assemble without ceremony, and find in the remnants of his hospitable kitchen more broken victuals than is supplied by any English nobleman's house ; this essentially amiable and kind hearted man, prefaces a rebuke to a labourer with, " You villain, you ! I'll blow your bloody soul in a blaze of gun-powder to hell ! "

To remove this uncivilized deportment of the landed proprietors to the peasantry, is no very plain or easy achievement. It is in vain to look for a more impartial administration of justice, as long as both the grand and petty juries and justices of the peace are composed of the very class of men in whom the evil originates.

THE removal of religious distinctions would have no effect here ; for the peasantry are not held in contempt as Roman Catholics or Presbyterians, but as peasants ; and it is a very remarkable fact, that the Roman Catholic landlords behave in a much more injurious, gross, and tyrannical manner to their labourers, than the Protestant landlords ; and, in general, the peasantry prefer to be employed by a Protestant rather than a Roman Catholic. So true it is, that a mind debased by oppression is always the most ready to inflict it.

A DISREGARD to the common rules of civility and respect, which the poorest man has a right to claim from the richest, can only arise from the impunity with which the rich man may express the contempt it is so natural he should be impressed with at the situation of the poor.

SEVENTH CAUSE

The influence of a Republican Party.

THERE can be no doubt of the existence of a speculative republican party in Ireland, which in the closet,

even more than in the field, has been a considerable cause of the late rebellions in Ireland. The only question with respect to it is the degree of influence and importance we shall attribute to it. Ministers will be very ready to assert, that it is every thing that it is the great and sole cause of all the evil that has visited Ireland.

ARE we not authorised by the strictest analogy to assert, that in all rebellions, authors, intriguers, demagogues, are at worst only the spark that kindles the insurrection ; the important, the fatal train is laid in the immediate pressure of abuses, injuries, or insults, and the despair of their being voluntarily redressed by gentle, yet certain degrees.

HAD a reform in parliament, had a total emancipation of the Roman Catholics been granted to the people by the Irish parliament, all the orators of the human race might have preached revolution to the Irish people, and would have preached in vain.

IF a republican party be a great cause of the rebellions in Ireland, yet there is none which can so easily be removed ; give them no topic in any really existing abuse, by which they can inflame the minds of the people.

EIGHTH CAUSE.

The Union.

IN introducing this very important subject as a cause of civil disturbance, I do not so much consider it's present effect, as that which is likely to occur in future.

FOR once that unworthy maxim of divide and conquer succeeded, and the Union, which five years before could not have been mentioned, was carried with very little trouble.

BUT as it is now notorious, that the measure was carried through Parliament by a very impudent abuse of influence, and a very *bare* majority, as the sentiments of the people were not consulted by the com-

mon decent appeal of a dissolution of Parliament, and as it is well known that a very great majority of the nation were averse to the measure, and the ministry only suffered it as a remedy for temporary evils ; is there not a chance, that when these temporary evils subside, and when the good sense of the Irish nation shall weaken the effect of religious distinctions, is there not a certainty, that the honourable sentiment of national independence will revive ?

THE principal argument by which it was supported, was that drawn from the evident advantage of a free trade between England and Ireland.

IN the same manner the freedom of Irish trade* was merely an accidental and annexed, not a necessary effect of a Union ; it might have existed without a Union ; it might not have existed with a Union. The same national spirit which procured the extension, might have asserted the freedom of Irish trade, though the Union had never existed.

THERE was a degree of impertinence, as well as duplicity, in those writers who held forth the freedom of trade, as a bribe to the Irish to sacrifice their independence ; the freedom of trade was not more desirable to Ireland than to England ; it could not be considered as a boon from one party to the other ; it was a mutual benefit, a wise compromise of petty interests, which was equally advantageous to both.

“ OH ! but, (it was said) the Union gives an opportunity of emancipating the Catholics without risk.” But the opportunity has never been taken. And after

* *The volunteer system overawed a venal parliament, and the great abilities of a Grattan, procured the famous proposition for a Free Trade. About the same time he obtained a repeal of the obnoxious declaratory act. It was then Ireland for a short time rose rapidly in wealth and power. The Irish Parliament had generosity to vote, as a free gift to Mr. Grattan, for his patriotic services in Parliament, the sum of £50,000 sterling.*

all, the Catholics might have been emancipated, if there never had been a Union, not only without risk, but with a certainty of increased security.

ANOTHER argument for the Union was, the supposed danger of differences arising between the two Legislatures, which might either produce a rupture between the two countries, or might weaken them in case of the attack of a foreign power.

IN the first place, I reply, that so far from any danger being apprehended from the perversity of the Irish Parliament, its noted subserviency to the crown was brought forward as a capital accusation against it when its overthrow was preferred.*

THE last argument of any importance in favour of the Union was, that Ireland would be better governed, and that the predominant influence of the Protestant party would be done away. Experience proves the contrary.

THE English ministry have no sort of knowledge of affairs in Ireland; to acquire it, they send over a Lord Lieutenant and secretary as ignorant as themselves. These men naturally, on their arrival, fall into the society of the higher ranks in Dublin, who constitute the heads of the Protestants, of the Orange men, of that very party whose intolerance and tyranny have ruined the country. What can an English opposition do for Ireland? The deepest groan which suffering wrings from that unhappy country, scarcely vibrates on the English shore. Middlesex might be alarmed, if such were the fate of Yorkshire; but Ireland forms no precedent for Middlesex, scarcely more than Jamaica.

IN fact, the Union, considered distinctly from the increased freedom of trade, has not been productive of one good effect either to Ireland or England; it

* I do not notice the difference at the time of the regency; differences, which might have been prevented by an act of Parliament, cannot be brought as reasons for a Union.

has not removed a single previous discontent, while it has added a general and perpetual cause for future discontents among the numerous class of Irish, who were averse to the measure.

THE Presbyterians are, morally speaking, the most powerful and respectable body of men in Ireland; they were precipitated into the late rebellion from the despair of obtaining their favourite measure, a reform in Parliament.

BUT even allowing the Union to have produced all the advantages that were attached to it; allow that it necessarily gave freedom to commerce, diminished the risk of separation, quieted religious rancour, and civil dissensions, put an end to the danger of fatal wars between the two countries, any thing that you please to exaggerate or invent, still there is an evil arising from this Union, which is paramount to any advantages it can possibly afford. Let us drop the particular instance of England and Ireland, consider the subject more generally, and this will immediately appear.

I WILL suppose, which is perhaps the case, that Bonaparte wishes to realize the project of Anacharsis Cloots, and unite all Europe under his own government. Suppose he began with the union of France and England; he would be able to urge exactly the same arguments, with much greater force, that were made use of for the Irish union. The liberty of trade, which is much more wanting; the extinction of wars which are sufficiently frequent between England and France; the abolition of parties in England, and the tranquillization of Ireland; he would be more bountiful to you, than you have been to Ireland; he would very willingly leave you your parliament, as he has done in Piedmont; he would only ask you to make him King, and give him leave to reside in Paris. Now why should these arguments, which you thought sufficient to justify a union between Ireland and England, why should they not be sufficient to justify a union between France and England? or, what distinc-

tion, except the powerful one, of "I won't," which the Irish could not use, will you show, to prove that, in similar instances, similar arguments will not hold good? To say that it is impracticable and improbable, is nothing to the purpose; I never said it was otherwise: the question is, would it be useful? You might perhaps say, nature has assigned limits to each country, and of course to their communication; and hence different habits and manners have taken place, different laws, and mutual antipathies; but all this was urged by the Irish, and in their instance, treated as trifles, light as air. Might not Bonaparté say, "Why should there be any more difference between France and England, than between Yorkshire and Middlesex? and the sooner the manners and laws of the two countries are assimilated, and their antipathies cease, the better."

AND why should England exact this sacrifice? or why wear a jealous or oppressive countenance towards Ireland? The local situation of Ireland and England, opposed to a great continent, must make their political interests always the same. Their mutual trade is a home trade; the wealthier each is, the better customers they will be to one another; their commercial interests must be one and the same too. Are the English to be the exclusive possessors of national honour? Are Englishmen to have the right to desolate the world with war, on the bare suspicion of an insult to their national honor? And yet Irishmen must be supposed blind to their interests, when the very fountain of their national honour is for ever drained, if they be heard to murmur.

WHEN Ireland acquired it's independence under the auspices of Mr. Fox, the Irish learnt to respect each other; public applause became the great spur to patriotic efforts.

I SHALL take for granted, that if the Roman Catholics were placed on an equal footing with the Protestants, there would be an end to all formidable rebellions. We will suppose, under these circumstan-

ces, the parliament of Ireland restored, and placed out of the reach of intrigue or corruption. In this case, I know not a single source of jealousy, which could arise between the two countries; and the natural influence of their mutual interests would then have full liberty to operate, and would produce a moral union of much more durability and importance than the present political union. The strength of Ireland, instead of being an aid to France, would then become the strength of England; and this being the case, it must be the interest of England, that the independence of Ireland should be restored, which we have shewn would be the means of multiplying her wealth and resources, far, far beyond what she can ever attain in a dependant state. A common executive is all that is necessary, to secure the two countries from mutual war or hostile invasion; and if England would but grant to Ireland a reformed parliament, that should administer with integrity her domestic affairs, Ireland would readily accede to England the right of directing the external relations common to the two countries.

THE last and conclusive reason why it would be for the interest of England to restore Ireland her independence is, that she might get rid of the Irish members, who now sit in the English House of Commons.

I do not say the Irish members are bought; there is so much voluntary subservience to ministers in the honie market, that the foreign article is now a drug; but I say that the Irish members, generally speaking, will always be found ready to sell themselves, whenever they are worth buying.

I HAVE yet another measure to propose for the general tranquillization of Ireland, which I allow is liable to objections; but I contend, that these are infinitely overbalanced by it's advantages. If the Union be persisted in, it would be a fair, politic, and not very inconvenient measure, for the Imperial Parliament to be held in Ireland once every three years.

It would have been incredible, that a measure, so simple, easy, and effectual, as a participation in the seat of government, as well as in it's representation, being granted to Ireland, should not have been discussed and adopted, if every event, and every day did not afford a proof, how easily, in patriots, as well as ministers, in the self-appointed, as well as in the regularly designated guardians of the public good, the slightest private convenience overbalances the greatest public interest.

CONCLUSION.

AS to the government, Ireland is a most important detriment ; and it were better that it were buried in the sea, than retained in it's present state. It is doubly a source of weakness ; it requires an *immense* force for it's *defence* ; and if the present measures be continued, it will soon be *an addition* to the strength of France.

THERE can be as little doubt that if the French landed in any considerable force in Ireland they would succeed, as there is, that if they landed in England they would fail. England has the paramount advantage of a popular government ; her whole force is disposable ; and that force is the entire nation. There are no parties to be guarded against at home ; no insurrections to be apprehended ; nothing to divert the smallest part of the military force from opposing the enemy.

BUT in Ireland the case is exactly the reverse. I grant, (for it is my own opinion) that the people would not join the French on landing ; they are become too prudent ; but what is the same thing, they would be every where prepared to join them. Ireland would resemble a weak, extensive fortress, where every point is exposed, and every point must be guarded ; the garrison must be immense, the disposable force

would be nothing. In case of invasion, there would be no appearance of internal insurrection; but there would not be a post or pass, a town or village, that would not require troops to watch the motions of the peasantry. The moment the troops left any part, there would be rumours of a rising; the terrified Protestants would weary the government for protection; here and there a murder would take place, and give strength to their remonstrances; the troops would return; the main force would be weakened; and the rebels, if there were any, would go to some part of the country not so well guarded. This is the best point of view. But, in fact, though no general insurrection would take place, there would be partial disturbances wherever the military were not in force; these would increase by impunity or partial success; and the main army, instead of acquiring force to march against the enemy, would be constantly frittered away on the duty of posts and garrisons.

WE saw a striking instance of this, even where there were no actual disturbances, but only the apprehension of them, when the French landed at Killala; the numbers were very insignificant, and yet they paraded through the country for many weeks, before Lord Cornwallis could even collect an army to march against them.

THE present crude and impolitic war was clearly undertaken without the smallest consideration of the state of Ireland; unless ministers seriously wished to try the minimum of wisdom, with which the foreign relations of the British empire might be conducted. On one side of the die, was the gain of Malta; on the other, the loss of Ireland; yet the desperate hazard suggested no precaution, no delay, though ministers had the inestimable advantage of choosing their own time. Weak heads find it an easier task to determine desperately, than to calculate measures wisely.

I APPEAL to the goodness of God, that religious bigotry, that stern uncompromising rigour, that inso-

lence, intolerance, and terrour, are not the means ordained to stifle the remembrance of injuries, and the regrets of equal rights; to soften the discordance of religious differences, and tranquillize the irritated phrenzy of popular discontents.

NOTES.

No. I.

On confiscation of property, and the conduct of the United Irishmen.

THE apprehension of confiscations is extremely unfavourable to the cause of liberty. *Men of property* are naturally friends to liberty; for, in free countries, their property is more secure and more productive. But when they find the *partizans* of liberty more inimical to the security of property than the most tyrannical governments, they prefer compromising with the certain but slow progress of arbitrary power, rather than trust to the *sweeping measures* of *experimental politics*. That *party* in a country which supports the cause of freedom ought to be careful to soothe the *jealous spirit of property*. When this feels itself secure, it is the mild source of national prosperity; but when under the influence of alarm, it is blind, intemperate, and ferocious.

THE successful stand which the comparatively insignificant body of Irish yeomen have made against the superior physical force of the Irish revolutionists, is sufficient evidence of the energy of the spirit of property; and, at the same time, the yeomen afford as strong an instance of it's blindness, intemperance, and ferocity, when acting under the influence of alarm.

IMPRESSED with such sentiments, it is impossible to view the leaders of the United Irishmen without mingled feelings of detestation and contempt. So far from seeking to soothe the fears of men of property, or secure the prosperity of the country by giving security to property, their regulations on this head were either alarmingly mysterious, or avowedly atrocious ; and the leaders of the last insurrection, in their celebrated proclamation, declared all property in a state of suspension ; no leases, covenants, or agreements, were to be made, till the pleasure of this embryo government was known, which announced it's despotic, puerile, impertinent intentions, with more dogmatism and intolerance than is usual in long established governments.

THE projectors of revolutions are seldom men of much property ; they know that the secure and free enjoyment of the substantial comforts of life does not form their happiness, and they conclude, too hastily, that it does not form the happiness of other people ; otherwise it is quite incomprehensible, that while they are so zealous for personal security and freedom, they are at most cold friends to the freedom and security of property, which are of equal, if not superior importance. A wise rebel would not threaten the person or property of his greatest enemy ; a wise revolutionist would forbear to injure them.

No. II.

On the character of the Irish Roman Catholics.

THE endurance of oppression and contumely has always a very unfavourable effect on the human mind when pushed to a great extent. Instead of calling forth the generous spirit of resistance, it extinguishes the feelings, destroys the sentiments of dignity and honour, and fits the slave to the slavery.

THE Irish Roman Catholics were made slaves ; and slavery made them humble, abject, and cowardly. A Roman Catholic historian (Mr. Plowden)

proves that they bore five centuries of indignity and suffering with perfect loyalty ! This is singular praise, but it sufficiently proves the degradation of their minds. No ; the Roman Catholics, so far from having the spirit to be rebels, did not even think themselves of sufficient importance to remonstrate against their grievances, till they found Protestant leaders on whom they could lean for consequence.

A ROMAN Catholic in Ireland is not much better treated than a Jew at Rome. There are two means which the Roman Catholics ought to persevere in, to remove their shame amongst men. First, by constant petitions, to show they were not contented under the sense of their disgrace, and so far supporting their importance, that in case of a change of ministry in England, they should not be overlooked. Secondly, by every public profession and pledge in their power, they should endeavour to calm the apprehensions the Protestants entertain of the confiscated property being their object.

No. III.

On the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

THE suspension of the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland is a very unwise measure, as it makes all men afraid to join in a petition. No one will venture to incur the displeasure of a Secretary, where the Secretary has such ample means of vengeance in his power. Thus, at the very time when it would be most important for government to be made acquainted with the grievances of the people, all communication is cut off between the government and the people.

THE great danger of discontents in Ireland is, that there are no avowed leaders with whom it is possible to treat or compromise ; all is mysterious, deep, and incomprehensible ; and, in a moment, without any previous symptoms, every thing is placed at issue between the contending parties.

No. IV.

THOUGH it is certainly wiser to pay the clergy of all sects, rather than to pay exclusively the clergy of one; yet it may be still a question, whether it would not be the wisest measure of all to pay none, but let the clergy be paid by the individuals who want their services.

No. V.

COLONEL HUTCHINSON, in the House of Commons, attributed the rebellions in Ireland to the poverty of the lower orders. This is the common mistake of accounting for effects by the secondary instead of the primary causes. The Irish are poor because their minds are depressed by tyranny, and their pride is not called forth by any interest or sympathy in the government of their country. Bad government is the cause of poverty—poverty of rebellions; but to put an end to rebellions, it is in vain to try to enrich the people, unless you mend the government.

No. VI.

It is a very singular fact, that the state of the peasantry in Ireland has improved since the rebellion. Resistance, as it always does, has procured them more respect and better treatment. Those Squires, who were their worst oppressors, now wheedle them the most—from fear: and I know a Justice who was near being brought to trial for kicking a woman with child on the belly, who now pays a degree of court to the peasantry that is contemptible. The Irish peasantry have risen from the rank of slaves to that of enemies.

No. VII.

THE barbarities committed in Ireland, under the administration of Lord Camden, will long prevent the peasantry of Ireland from looking on the English in any other light than as enemies. Let it never be for-

gotten, that under the administration of Lord Camden, the system of forcing confession by torture was revived, a system which only springs from the basest cowardice ; that men were flogged most inhumanly, were half hung, had their ears slit in slices, cut off, to force confession, whether they were guilty or not ; every where in Ireland, you meet maimed and disfigured wretches, who still exist, a proof that they were innocent.

ANOTHER principle (what else could happen under such patronage ?) was introduced by the yeomanry, which may properly be called Irish retaliation. If a Protestant was found killed, the yeomanry immediately sallied out, and on the town land where the body was found, they shot every man old or young, wherever they met them. By one of these exploits, thirty innocent people (innocent certainly, because they were at their homes) were wantonly murdered.

MR. ADDINGTON, in the House of Commons, challenged Colonel Hutchinson to produce an instance where Court Martials had decided with cruelty and injustice. I believe it would have been a much more difficult task to produce an instance where they had not. Court Martials, from their nature, being secret tribunals, are not easy to be convicted of their misdeeds. But is Mr. Addington really not aware of the number of Court Martials, over whose decisions, as represented by themselves, Lord Cornwallis drew his pen ? Has he never heard the name of Sir Edward Crosbie, for instance, whose trial and murder would have shocked a Brinvilliers. To mention a single instance, let him ask for the minutes of the trial of one Lieutenant Hogg, and see if the following circumstances are not true.

As Lieutenant Hogg, and two soldiers under his command, were going to Arklow, they met a man tolerably well dressed, and without any questions, took him prisoner. Just before they reached New Bridge, they met a party of yeomanry, who recognized the prisoner, and told Lieutenant Hogg that he

must have made a mistake, for the man he had told of was a loyal man, and an Orange man. Lieutenant Hogg answered, that he knew very well what he was about, and had orders to take his prisoner to Arklow. The yeomen were satisfied, and went on. Exactly at the corresponding time of the evening, a labouring man was working in a marl pit by the roadside, a little beyond New Bridge. He saw an officer and two soldiers approach with a prisoner ; and as the peasantry were frequently shot wherever they were met by the soldiers, he hid himself in the bushes over the marl pit. He was scarcely concealed, before the party brought the prisoner into the marl pit, and deliberately murdered him.

HAD the man been a Catholic no notice would have been taken of this exploit ; he was a Protestant and an Orange man, his friends might consequently venture, with some hope of success, to lay an information. Lieutenant Hogg and the two soldiers were arrested and tried by a Court Martial ; the Lieutenant was acquitted, the soldiers were sentenced to be hung ! When this iniquitous (iniquitous because partial) sentence was laid before Lord Cornwallis, he expressed the strongest indignation. The Lieutenant was placed out of the reach of justice, by the acquittal of the Court Martial ; and Lord Cornwallis had nothing left but to express his strongest conviction of Lieutenant Hogg's guilt, and his disapprobation of the sentence that acquitted him. He gave orders that he should be broke ; that he should be taken to the place of execution, and be placed under the gallows while the soldiers were hung. This was done. The first soldier that was to be executed, addressed himself to the Lieutenant in these words : " You know very well that we are hung for what you have done ; it was by your orders we killed the man ; it was you who emptied his pockets ; and you have at this moment got his watch in your possession."

THE system of plunder which was carried on under the sanction of military law, was enormous. Horse

stealing, to a great extent, was it's least violent feature. When a wealthy Roman Catholic became an object of suspicion, a piece of plate, or a favourite mare, which had caught the eye of some puissant yeoman, were often found to be the real cause of it. But in the county of Armagh, house breaking and murder became so frequent a symptom of violent loyalty, that an Orange man or two were hung before these proceedings could be mitigated. The trial of Major Sandys, who was convicted even by a Protestant jury, is sufficiently notorious. But the scandalous bill of indemnity, which the Irish parliament passed, to protect every crime short of murder, has hushed up a tale that would have made the annals of Rebespierr appear feeble in atrocity.

No. VIII.

I CANNOT omit a very noble instance of the great effect which kind treatment has upon the hearts of the Irish peasantry. In surveying the unvaried scene of unbending oppression and sanguinary resistance, our imagination is terrified, our sympathy exhausted; yet there is one little trait in the history of these times, which like the green Oasis in the mighty desert, affords refreshment to the heart, and proves that in mercy there is wisdom. It is the conduct of the Dean of Kilsenora* to his parishioners.

THIS gentleman possesses the living of Callan, one of the largest in Ireland. When the rebellion broke out, he had but just come to reside; and he found all the peasantry in his neighbourhood, as well as every other peasant in Ireland, deeply engaged in insurrection. By every kindness in his power, by persuasion, but most powerfully by *civility* to the meanest labourer, he gradually inspired them with confidence and esteem; he convinced them of the small hope and great peril of their enterprise; he assured them not only of just, but of respectful usage

* Dr. Stevenson.

finally, he gained the friendship of their priest. In one day six hundred rebels came to his house and surrendered their arms. Had these deluded people gone in the same manner to any other gentleman, they would have been strictly examined respecting their treasonable practices; would have been loaded with taunts and reproaches for the past, and threats for the future; and would have found so little temptation to return to their old habits of life, that, in a few days, half of them would have again joined the rebels.

INSTEAD of this conduct, Dr. Stevenson assembled the party on his lawn, spread tables for the whole six hundred, entertained them with the true magnificence of Irish hospitality, conversed with them on indifferent subjects, and made the administering the oath of allegiance a kind of fete, rather than an emblem of victorious oppression. What has been the consequence? Ever since that day, (though the rebellion continued long after, and many insurrections have succeeded) not one of these reclaimed rebels has been even suspected of disloyalty; and by the continuance of the same humane and enlightened conduct, there is not a man in Ireland sleeps half so securely in his bed as the Dean of Kilfenora; there is not a parish in Ireland that can be called well affected when compared with Callan.

THOUGH a clergyman, a Protestant, and an Englishman, the Dean has received that tribute of the poor man's gratitude which is greatful even to the proud and wealthy; but which, as none in Ireland deserve, none receive. On his return from England last year, to Callan, the day was kept as a festival throughout the whole country; crowds thronged the roads, and greeted him with huzzas; while all the mountains around blazed with bonfires. It seems strange, that many Irish gentlemen try with equal earnestness to cultivate the affections of the peasantry, yet meet not with the same success. The Dean of Kilfenora is the only instance of complete success.

The reason is this : that he is, in the best sense of the word, a gentleman ; that is, he treats his inferiors, whatever their station, with civility and affability. This is the real secret of conciliating the Irish peasantry ; it is not your money or your protection that will win their hearts, but the respectful kindness which removes from their minds the painful sense of degradation.

AN Irish Squire, let his intentions be ever so good, destroys the effect of obligations by his manner of conferring them. But it is in vain to tell the Irish Squires to reform their manners towards the peasantry ; manners are not to be moulded by wishes, they must be formed by circumstances. Make the gentry, in some measure, dependent on the peasantry ; give to the peasantry more political importance, and you need not be afraid that they will be treated with insolence.

No. IX.

IT is surprising with what avidity the romantic philippic of Emmett against the French has been received, as declaratory of the sentiments of the discontented party in Ireland ; and how securely ministers repose on the belief, that the Irish do not wish for the assistance of the French. This shows how ignorant they are of the real state of opinions in Ireland. Emmett certainly hated the French government, because it had conducted itself towards him and his friends with worse than coldness (a proof that Bonaparte was not so intent on war as was represented.) Emmett spoke his real sentiments ; but we have no proof that they extended much farther than himself and his immediate friends. On the contrary, the current mode of reasoning in Ireland on French assistance is this : Ireland is much more powerful in military resources than any country the French have yet invaded ; a band of 300,000 peasantry, living sparingly, inured to hardships, fond of war ; a country difficult to march through, and full of fastnesses, would

certainly be great checks on French ambition. Independent of this, France cannot pour into Ireland, as into other countries, regular supplies of armies; the English fleets would be allies against the French, as much as the French would be against the English; and the French party would soon feel itself entirely dependent on the Irish party. In fact, the discontented in Ireland wear now a much more formidable appearance than ever; there is not a demagogue that is not an adept in revolutionary measures; there is not a peasant that does not know the deficiencies in military tactics that caused the failure of the last rebellion. Ask a Wexford mountaineer, why his party was defeated? He will tell you, because they embarrassed themselves with cannon; because they made stationary encampments; because they marched on the level country, instead of keeping the line of the mountains; and lastly, because they could not be brought to make night attacks on the regular troops. The disaffected in Ireland are doubly dangerous, because they do not appear so; they have learnt caution; they have learnt to wait for, and seize on opportunities. The war was a fair opportunity; and every Irish country gentleman must know, that the moment war was declared, treasonable intrigues resumed all their activity. Emmett, on his return from France, found the country ripe for revolution; he attempted it, and failed. The disaffected will now remain quiet till another opportunity occurs, till the French effect an invasion; then every hand will prepare its weapon; and in proportion to the embarrassment of government, conspiracies and insurrections will multiply. And yet, will nothing open the eyes of the English government to their real danger? Will they maintain their wretched system of Irish politics, even at the hazard of national ruin? What, though the French have not sufficient naval force to aid the Irish rebels, this will not always be the case; some time or other, it may be ten years, or it may be twenty, the French will resume their naval equality;

and if England does not alter her measures, Ireland will be the same disunited, disaffected country. But have not the English ministers yet dreamt of the effect of Ireland being conquered by the French? Are they not aware that a revolutionary Irish army, so far from being averse to second the designs of France, would receive, with a frenzied delight, the order to embark for the English coast? The memory of long sufferings; the sense of smarting under recent indignities; the hope for honour, for the first time, placed within their reach; the thirst for vengeance; their natural love of action and of peril, present a prospect of that dark and tardy retribution, which sometimes falls, sudden and unheeded, on a nation's crimes. Why will the English ministers prefer making an enemy of Ireland (slave she cannot now be called) rather than attach her as a faithful ally? The interests of the countries are the same; the measures must be faulty which separate them. Ireland, that is the mass of it's population and force, is hostile to England; the Union is a name, a sound, a fiction; there is no Union; the nominal Union is only an additional source of discord. Make a real Union, by removing all causes of discontent, and leaving the common interests of the two countries to operate.

FINIS.

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